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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore, and China; being the Journal of a Naturalist during* 1832, 1833, and 1834. By George Bennett, Esq., F.L.S., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. London, 2 vols. 8vo. 1834.

IF our readers are as weary of new novels as we confess ourselves to be, they will thank us for pointing out a book of travels, which carries one rapidly and pleasantly over a wide diversity of sea and land; presents many objects of natural history, and traits of social peculiarity, well calculated to excite and gratify our curiosity; and is distinguished by a merit now exceedingly rare among writers of this once rough-spun class, namely, freedom from the slang and cant of sentiment. Mr. Bennett sometimes, no doubt, treats of serious subjects in too light a vein; but we acknowledge that, as his offences in this way are not numerous, we are willing to overlook them on account of the satisfaction which results from the absence of pseudo-poetical raptures about nothing. Most recent travellers seem to have been bit with the ambition of rivalling those overgrown babies, male and female, honourable and right honourable, who record the ecstacies of 'what they call their minds' in the gilded pages of the Annuals. We do not pretend to class Mr. Bennett, on the whole, with such authors as Captain Basil Hall and Sir Francis Head; but he has, in common with them, what must be felt as among their chief excellencies—a manly temperament, and a thorough scorn of puerile rhetoric.

We are told little or nothing of Mr. Bennett's own condition or personal objects—and in this omission we acknowledge another wholesome deviation from the prevalent fashion. We infer, however, that he has been employed for some years as a surgeon in the merchant service; and are hopeful that his literary adventure may stimulate many of the well-educated gentlemen who in these piping days of peace are content with such employment, to improve the opportunities which their mode of life affords for the extension of natural science in almost all its departments. Humbly as their position may be thought of, we are of opinion that it is in their own power, by so doing, to elevate it very effectually in general estimation. The number of persons destined for this branch of

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he has brought together concerning the oceanic birds, in particular, appears to be highly curious. We shall not, however, in this place, consider critically what additions he has made to the materials of science strictly so called—we mean as to the addition of species, if not of genera, to the zoological system; but afford the general reader some specimens of the style in which he describes those incidents of his life at sea which he has turned to solid account in the technical sections of his Appendix.

We begin with a paragraph or two on that well-known phenomenon which has so long perplexed and divided our philosophers,—the peculiar phosphoric light given out by the ocean, more especially and more brilliantly in tropical regions, during the absence of the sun's rays. Mr. Bennett had one splendid opportunity of witnessing this effect when traversing the bay of Manilla. He thus writes:—

'The wake of the vessel is one broad sheet of phosphoric matter, so brilliant as to cast a dull, pale light over the after-part of the ship; the foaming surges, as they gracefully curl on each side of the vessel's prow, are similar to rolling masses of liquid phosphorus; whilst in the distance, even to the horizon, it seems an ocean of fire—and the distant waves, breaking, give out a light of inconceivable beauty.'—vol. i. p. 36.

'It must not be for a moment conceived that the light described as like to a sea of "liquid fire," is of the same character as the flashes produced by the volcano, or by lightning, or meteors. No: it is the light of phosphorus, as the matter truly is, pale, dull, approaching to a white or very pale yellow, casting a melancholy light on objects around, only emitting flashes by collision. To read by it is possible, but not agreeable; and, on an attempt being made, it is almost always found that the eyes will not endure the peculiar light for any length of time, as headaches and sickness are occasioned by it.'—p. 38.

Having stated his concurrence in the opinion, that this brilliant appearance is mainly occasioned by shoals of the molluscous and crustaceous tribes, but that it may often be accounted for merely by the *débris* of dead animal matter with which sea-water is loaded—our author gives us the result of a practical experiment of his own on the 8th of June, 1832, after a large shoal of fish had been observed:—

'Late at night the mate of the watch came and called me to witness a very unusual appearance in the water, which he, on first seeing, considered to be breakers. On arriving upon the deck, this was found to be a very broad and extensive sheet of phosphorescence, extending in a direction from east to west as far as the eye could reach: the luminosity was confined to the range of animals in this shoal—there was no similar light in any other direction. I cast the towing-

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the ocean with expanded wings, as they run along for some distance, until they again soar in mid-air, and recommence their erratic flights. It is interesting to view them, during boisterous weather, flying with, and even against, the wind, seeming the "gayest of the gay" in the midst of howling winds and foaming waves.

'To watch the flight of these birds used to afford me much amusement, commencing with the difficulty experienced by them in elevating themselves from the water. To effect this object, they spread their long pinions to the utmost, giving them repeated impulses as they run along the surface of the water. Having, by these exertions, raised themselves above the wave, they ascend and descend, and cleave the atmosphere in various directions, without any apparent muscular exertion. How then, it may be asked, do these birds execute such movements? The whole surface of the body in this, as well as, I believe, most, if not all, the oceanic tribes, is covered by numerous air-cells, capable of a voluntary inflation or diminution, by means of a beautiful muscular apparatus. By this power, the birds can raise or depress themselves at will; and the tail, and great length of the wing, enable them to steer in any direction. Indeed, without some provision of this kind to save muscular exertion, it would be impossible for these birds to undergo such long flights without repose as they have been known to do; for the muscles appertaining to the organs of flight, although large in these birds, are evidently inadequate in power to the long distances they have been known to fly, and the immense length of time they remain on the wing, with scarcely a moment's cessation.

'When several species of the albatross, as well as petrels and other oceanic birds, are about the ship at the same time, no combats have been seen to take place between them; but on the death of one, the others soon fall upon and devour it.'—vol. i. pp. 46, 47.

Another great source of amusement was shark-fishing—of which sport Captain Hall's enthusiastic details must be in every reader's recollection:—

'The capture of one of these voracious animals frequently beguiles a tedious hour during a long voyage. Its struggles, when brought on deck, are very great, but a few severe blows on the nose soon disable it from further exertion. When seizing any object, the animal turns on the side, not (as is generally supposed) on the back. The shark, judging by an European palate, is not good eating: the fins and tail are very glutinous, and are the portions most relished by the seamen; when dried, they form an article of commerce to China, where they are used in soups. ..... I have seen several sharks and bonitos about the ship at the same time, but I never observed the former attempt to molest the latter.

'Attending the shark is seen that beautiful little fish, the *gasterosteus ductor*, or *pilot-fish;* which first approaching the bait, returns as if to give notice, when, immediately after, the shark approaches and

ence *the whole machine* has less powers of motion, and displays less sympathy; the mode of existence is more simple, and approaches more nearly to that of the vegetable world than in the warm-blooded classes; but, on the contrary, *the parts* possess a greater individual independent vitality. In consequence of this latter endowment, stimuli which operate on one part, or one system, do not immediately affect the whole frame by sympathy, as in warm-blooded animals; and hence it is that we are enabled to explain the peculiar tenacity of life which is displayed under various circumstances in this class—as, for example, how frogs still continue to jump about after the heart has been torn out, and turtles have lived for months after the removal of the whole brain from the cranium. The long-continued power of motion in parts which have been cut off from the body, as in the tail of the water-newt and blind-worm, is to be explained upon the same principles.'

The length of time during which this irritability exists in snakes has given rise to the opinion of the vulgar, that 'if a snake is killed in the morning, it will not die before sunset.' Among numerous instances of such irritability even in the warm-blooded class, the human heart, for some little time after death has taken place, may be stimulated to perform its natural action by being punctured; and in a limb after amputation, the muscles are excited to contract by the plunge of a scalpel. Of the effects of galvanism we need say nothing.

Among other marine objects discussed in this chapter, we find 'the Guinea-ship' of our old navigators—called, in the dialect of modern sailors, the 'Portuguese man-of-war'—that beautiful molluscous animal the *physalia*, of which Lamarck enumerates four species, all inhabiting the tropical seas, but some of them seen occasionally in high latitudes during the summer months. They are, of course, more readily discerned in calm weather than in strong breezes, and have then a strong resemblance to a miniature vessel resting on the surface of the waters—whence their popular names, ancient and modern. The vulgar notion that the animal has the power of voluntarily collapsing its bladder-sail, and sinking to the depths of the ocean, when danger approaches, appears to have been for ever disposed of by our author's observations. He found several thrown on the shore of New South Wales in tempestuous weather, the bladder portion still remaining inflated; and while at sea he frequently landed them on deck from his hand-net in the same condition. The inflated membrane is evidently meant merely to keep the creature buoyant on the surface, while its long tentacula are extended below in search of prey. The bladder is of a light azure hue, streaked with delicate sea-green, and the

persecution to which these poor things are exposed: he says they are no worse off than any other branch of the animated creation; but surely he himself paints their situation, when he saw a great shoal of them near the Cape Verd group, in December, 1832, as rather more distressing than is usual with either birds or fishes—pursued through the waves by a host of bonitos, and whenever they rose into air, pounced on by a flock of gannets and boobies. The sight of this double *chasse*, says the philosophical surgeon, 'afforded much amusement and interest to those who beheld it.' —(p. 35.)

But we must now get ashore, and attend Mr. Bennett in some of those 'Wanderings in New South Wales' which occupy more than half of his book. He seems to have made good use of the time which his captain's stay at Sydney enabled him to bestow according to his own inclinations—in short, to have performed several long and laborious journeys to different points of the colony—exploring, to the best of his ability, the manners of all classes of its inhabitants, rational and irrational. On colonial politics he does not say much; and here we shall follow his example. It is, however, his well-considered opinion, after all that he saw and heard, that convicts should no longer be sent to New South Wales otherwise than 'for the purpose of being employed on the public works,' and that free emigration ought to be strenuously encouraged. We are much inclined to believe that the time is come when the society of this colony should be delivered, if possible, from further influx of moral pollution, and a new penal settlement established on some other part of that vast continent. The population of the existing colony is now a large one; and it is the duty of Government to give it the best chance of entirely shaking off the lamentable taint of its original formation, which it can scarcely be expected to do so long as a constant succession of fresh blackguardism is infused into the system. Who can doubt that this is a country which *must* make a great figure in the world, either for good or for evil, before three generations more shall have passed away?—or contemplate without alarm the existence of a powerful nation born and reared amidst such a moral atmosphere as at present shocks every new visitant of Sydney, and is but too apt to corrupt and harden the whole being of any one who protracts his residence there? We believe that, if it were consistent with our feelings of duty to lay before our readers a detailed picture of real life, as it exists even among the upper class of society in that colony—of the domestic crimes and tragedies which have been brought to light there even within the last few years—it would be readily allowed that no fiction could surpass the horrible truth of such a statement. The exceptions are, we

He retails elsewhere an old but not a bad story of General Macquarie's attempt to induce the natives to cultivate the ground, by a distribution of seeds and implements:—

'Among the packets of seed sent for distribution were some which contained fish-hooks: these, together with the seeds, were given by the governor to the sable monarch, King Bungaree. Some time after the governor inquired of him whether the seeds had yet come up? "Oh, berry well, berry well," exclaimed Bungaree, "all make come up berry well, except dem fish-hooks; dem no come up yet."'—p. 338.

Wherever men can be compared with women, we are pretty sure to find the moral advantage with the latter; and here, it seems, is no exception to the rule. Mr. Bennett has one short story, which we shall allow to speak for itself—dismissing some flourishes with which, unlike himself, he introduces it:—

'A female of one of the aboriginal tribes in the Murrumbidgee country cohabited with a convict named Tallboy, who, becoming a bush-ranger, was for a long time sought after by the police for the many atrocities he had committed, but always eluded pursuit. This female concealed him with true native ingenuity, and baffled his pursuers—she would fish and hunt for him, whilst he remained secluded in the retreat she chose. She often visited the stock-keepers' huts at the different stations, and whatever provisions she received from them were immediately conveyed to the unworthy object of her devoted attachment. Although many knew she was privy to his concealment, yet it was found impossible to elude her vigilance; neither promises of rewards—enough to excite the cupidity of any individual, but one in whom a higher feeling was paramount—nor threats, could induce her to acknowledge that she was acquainted with his place of concealment. The brute, however, manifested no kindred affection, but would frequently beat and ill-use her. Whilst she administered to him the refreshing cup of kindness, he bestowed on her misery in return. Shortly after he had, in one instance, given way to his natural brutish disposition, by ill-treating the being who had done so much for him—he was on the verge of discovery—indeed had himself given up all hopes of escape: when she again saved him, by engaging to point out to the police his place of retreat, and led them away, under that pretence, in a contrary direction, affording her paramour time and opportunity to seek out a safer asylum. When she arrived with the police at the spot where she had informed them he last was, he of course was not there, and a strict search in the vicinity was equally unsuccessful: she then left them to continue their pursuit, pretending to know nothing further respecting him. At last he was captured by venturing out too boldly during her absence, was tried, condemned, and expiated his offences on the scaffold at Sydney. She wished to follow him, on hearing he was a prisoner, but that was impossible; so, reclaimed by her tribe, she was obliged to become an unwilling wife of one of the blacks.

'This

'The Australian dog never barks; indeed, it is remarked by Mr. Gardiner, in a work entitled The Music of Nature, "that dogs in a state of nature never bark; they simply whine, howl, and growl: this explosive noise is only found among those which are domesticated." Sonnini speaks of the shepherds' dogs in the wilds of Egypt as not having this faculty; and Columbus found the dogs which he had previously carried to America to have lost their propensity to barking. The barking of a dog is an acquired faculty—an effort to speak, which he derives from his associating with man.'—vol. i., p. 235.

In this, of course, as in every book about New South Wales, the kangaroo claims right to fill a considerable space. The chase, by no means a very safe amusement, of the 'old man kangaroo,' as the blacks call the full-grown male, seems to have found great favour with Mr. Bennett, and he sketches some scenes which, as he himself says, might have deserved to be immortalized by the pencil of a Landseer. We content ourselves, however, with one or two of his lighter pages. An Irishman of his acquaintance had a favourite dog, who rashly pursued a large kangaroo into a water-pool, and was ducked almost dead for his pains:—

'Pat, in a great rage at the threatened death of his dog, would have shot the kangaroo, but his gun missed fire; he then entered the water-hole "to bate the brains of the baste out" with the butt-end of the gun; but the "baste," not fancying to be thus treated, turned from the soused and now senseless dog to his more formidable adversary, and a struggle took place, in which the man was often thrust under water, and victory was promising much in favour of the kangaroo, when some of Pat's companions fortunately coming to his assistance, attacked and killed the animal with clubs, and rescued him in almost an insensible condition. I asked him how he felt when the beast hugged him; he replied, "Not very comfortable, he tumbled me about famously; they are mighty strong bastes, and don't seem to like being meddled with." Indeed, many persons when alone are afraid to face a large "old man" kangaroo. A man, recently arrived in the colony, was sent after cattle; he returned in great terror, having come suddenly on the ranges upon a kangaroo, as "large," he said, "as a horse." I asked him the colour of the animal; he replied, that he did not *recollect* it; he only wished to get away from the beast, and, running down the hill, was glad when he saw the animal *warn't* following him. It is probable, when he went down one part of the range, the animal, equally, if not more frightened, descended another.'—vol. i. p. 286.

'The part of the kangaroo most esteemed for eating is the loins; but the tail, which abounds in gelatine, furnishes an excellent and nourishing soup: the hind legs are coarse, and usually fall to the share of the dogs. The natives (if they can be said to have a choice) give a preference to the head. The flesh of the full-grown animal may be compared to lean beef, and that of the young to veal: they are

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[illegible] these people [illegible] collects whole tribes of them as often as the proper season comes round.

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with greater facility, the natives make smothered fires underneath those rocks, and suffocate them with smoke, at the same time sweeping them off frequently in bushels-full at a time. After they have collected a large quantity, they proceed to prepare them, which is done in the following manner:—

'A circular space is cleared upon the ground, of a size proportioned to the number of insects; on it a fire is lighted and kept burning until the ground is considered to be sufficiently heated, when, the fire being removed, and the ashes cleared away, the moths are placed upon the heated ground, and stirred about until the down and wings are removed from them; they are then placed on pieces of bark, and *winnowed* to separate the dust and wings mixed with the bodies: they are then eaten—or placed in a wooden vessel, and pounded into masses or cakes, in colour and consistence resembling lumps of dough made from smutty wheat mixed with fat. The bodies of the moths are large, and filled with a yellowish oil, resembling in taste a sweet nut. These masses will not keep above a week, and seldom even for that time; but by smoking they are able to preserve them for a much longer period. The first time this diet is used, violent vomiting and other debilitating effects are produced; but after a few days they become accustomed to its use, and then thrive and fatten exceedingly upon it.

'These insects are held in such estimation among the aborigines, that they assemble from all parts of the country to collect them from these mountains. The crows also congregate for the same purpose. The blacks (that is, the crows and aborigines) do not agree about their respective shares—so the stronger decides the point; for when the crows enter the hollows of the rocks to feed upon the insects, the natives stand at the entrance, and kill them as they fly out, and afford them an excellent meal, being fat from feeding upon the rich bugong. So eager are these feathered blacks after this food, that they attack it even when it is preparing by the natives; but as the aborigines never consider any increase of food a misfortune, they lie in wait for the crows, with waddies or clubs, kill them in great numbers, and use *them* as food.

'The quantity of moths which may be collected from one of the granite groups it is calculated would amount to at least five or six bushels. The largest specimen I obtained measured seven-eighths of an inch, with the wings closed, the length of the body being five-eighths of an inch, and of proportionate circumference; the expanded wings measured one inch and three quarters across; the colour of the wings dark brown, with two black ocellated spots upon the upper ones; the body filled with yellow oil, and covered with down.

'When the natives about the Murrumbidgee river heard, on my return, that I had visited the "bugong mountain," they expressed great delight, and wished to see what I had collected. On showing them the few insects I had, they recognised them instantly; but I thought there was a feeling of disappointment at their curiosity only, not appetites,

tites, being gratified by my little entomological collection.'—vol. i. pp. 270-274.

We have stayed so long with Mr. Bennett at New South Wales, that we must make short work with the rest of his 'Wanderings.' He gives a fuller and livelier description of Macao, its inhabitants, Portuguese, English, and Chinese, than we have elsewhere met with; and of Canton itself he furnishes sundry sketches which will also reward the reader's attention. We were amused with the following *note:*—

'The brilliancy of the Chinese colours for painting, &c., has often been very highly extolled as being superior to the European. What surprise must it create, then, when we are informed that the colours used are of English manufacture, and the Chinese artists are eager for, and anxiously inquire after *them!* This reminds me of the great ignorance displayed by one of our countrymen who purchased an elegant London clock in a shop at Canton, at a high price, to take to England as a specimen of China manufacture. But do not we see these follies committed by our countrymen almost every day at Paris?'—vol. ii. p. 61.

To be sure we do; and we have no doubt much use is made of English colours, as well of English clocks and watches, in China: but that the Chinese artists have some colours of their own which no European skill has as yet rivalled, is a fact as well ascertained as any in the world.

At Macao the two *lions* that principally occupied Mr. Bennett's leisure hours were the public museum of rare animals, fossils, weapons, &c. &c., collected at the general expense of the English residents, and the aviary in the private gardens of one of our countrymen, a venerable gentleman of the name of Beale, who had

in spite of her quacks during the distressing scene, was left behind. The morning following the loss of her husband the female was seen in a most disconsolate condition: brooding in secret sorrow, she remained in a retired part of the aviary, pondering over the severe loss she had just sustained.

'Whilst she was thus delivering her soul to grief, a gay, prim drake, who had not long before lost his own dear duck, which had been accidentally killed, trimmed his beautiful feathers, and, appearing quite handsome, pitying the forlorn condition of the bereaved, waddled towards her; and, after devoting much of his time and all his attention to the unfortunate female, he offered her his protection, and made a thousand promises to treat her with more kindness and attention than her dear, lost drake. She, however, refused all his offers, having made, in audible quacks, a solemn vow to live and die a widow, if her mate did not return. From the day she met with her loss, she neglected her usual avocations; her plumage became ragged and dirty; she forsook her food and usual scenes of delight.

'Some time had elapsed, when a person, accidentally passing a hut, overheard some Chinese of the lower class conversing together. One said, "It would be a pity to kill so handsome a bird." "How, then," said another, "can we dispose of it?" The hut was noted, as it was immediately suspected that the lost mandarin was the subject of conversation. A servant was sent, and, after some trouble, recovered the long-lost drake by paying four dollars for him. He was then brought back to the aviary in one of the usual cane cages.

'As soon as the bird recognized the aviary, he expressed his joy by quacking vehemently and flapping his wings. An interval of three weeks had elapsed since he was taken away by force; but when the forlorn duck heard the note of her lost husband, she quacked, even to screaming, with ecstacy, and flew as far as she could in the aviary to greet him on his restoration. Being let out from the cage, the drake immediately entered the aviary—the unfortunate couple were again united: they quacked, crossed necks, bathed together, and then are supposed to have related all their mutual hopes and fears during the long separation.

'One word more on the unfortunate widower, who kindly offered consolation to the duck when overwhelmed with grief. She in a most ungrateful manner informed her drake of the impudent and gallant proposals made to her during his absence;—it is merely supposition that she did so; but at all events the result was, that the recovered drake attacked the other the day subsequent to his return, pecked his eyes out, and inflicted on him so many other injuries as to occasion his death in a few days. Thus did this unfortunate drake meet with a premature and violent death for his kindness and attention to a disconsolate lady. It may perhaps be correctly written on a tablet over his grave—"*A victim to conjugal fidelity.*"'

Since we are on the chapter of Ducks, we may notice here our author's diverting account of the *duck-boats* at Whampoa and elsewhere

elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Canton. As is well known, the owners and their families inhabit the upper part of these vessels, while their innumerable flocks of feathered creatures are accommodated in the hold. Mr. Bennett was fortunate enough to inspect some of them just after the rice harvest had been gathered, which is the season of joy for the broad-bills, as they are then at liberty to fatten upon the rich gleanings of the paddy-fields.

'On the arrival of the boat at the spot considered proper for feeding the quacking tribe, a signal of a whistle causes the flock to waddle in regular order from their domicile across the board placed for their accommodation. When it is considered that they have gorged sufficiently, another signal is made: immediately upon hearing it, they congregate and re-enter the boat. The first duck that enters is rewarded with some paddy, the last is whipped; so that it is ludicrous to see the last birds (knowing by sad experience the fate that awaits them) making efforts *en masse* to fly over the back of the others, to escape the chastisement inflicted upon the ultimate duck.'—vol. ii. p. 115.

Mr. Bennett had the good luck to sail, in his return from Canton to Macao, in company with Mr. Davis, the accomplished orientalist, then chief superintendent of the Honourable East India Company's establishment; and he appears to have owed much valuable information to that enlightened gentleman's conversation. But we have perhaps given as much space to this book as the nature of its contents may seem to justify—so we must now close our extracts with the surgeon's account of the mode in which the Chinese and Japanese produce those dwarf trees, which we mentioned in our last number when reviewing Messrs. Fischer and Meylan:—

the doctor's mess, and was on intimate terms with most of the passengers—but more especially—which, indeed, will surprise none who have observed the manners of animals—with a child on board, whom it attended almost like a nurse. Ungka liked every thing in the way of eating and drinking that passes current among men—except only wine; but if he had any relish for tobacco, Mr. Bennett does not mention it. Some few years ago, however, a captain in the Company's naval service brought to this city an animal of (we believe) the very same species, who not only took snuff habitually, but indulged himself with a pipe or two every day after dinner, filling the bowl for himself, and even lighting it very knowingly. This little gentleman, too, was quite free from the Mahometan prejudice against the juice of the grape. A friend of ours visiting him the first week after his arrival in Cheapside, found him in the act of finishing his mutton chop and potatoes, and about to begin his usual pipe, with the accompaniment of some Madeira negus. He was sold for the high price of 500*l.*, but died very soon afterwards.

There are two or three monkeys now in the Zoological Gardens in the Regent's Park, whose passion for snuff affords much amusement to the visiters. They seem to rub it zealously into their eyes and ears, as well as their nostrils, and, after some minutes of triumphant sneezing and snorting, to enjoy the narcotic influence of the Nicotian weed, with the calm contentment of an old-fashioned philosopher.

ART. II.—*Correspondance de Victor Jacquemont, avec sa Famille et plusieurs de ses Amis, pendant son Voyage dans l'Inde,* 1828-1832. 2 vols. Paris. 1833.

The same translated. 2 vols. London. 1834.

M. JACQUEMONT was, we understand, the son (born in 1801) of an apothecary in Paris, who, having shown considerable aptitude for what is called natural knowledge, was, on the recommendation of Baron Cuvier, appointed by the administration of the French Jardin des Plantes to travel into Central India for the purpose of investigating its natural history and collecting specimens of zoology, botany, mineralogy, &c. During this mission, which extended from August, 1828, when he sailed from Brest, to September, 1829, when he landed at Calcutta, and thence to December 1832, when he died at Bombay, he wrote a series of letters to his family and friends, which they have rather indiscreetly published, and which have been, we are informed, received with more approbation than we can think them—*in any respect*—entitled to.

it is that of the mechanism of nature; and Jacquemont's atheism was probably, like his incredulity on several other topics, either utter thoughtlessness, or (which is more likely) the silly affectation of passing for an *esprit fort*. For this reason, and for more serious considerations suggested by his early death, we shall say no more on this part of the character which he has drawn of himself, and which his family have had the lamentable indiscretion to publish. We shall have but too much room for censure on less offensive topics; but before we arrive at them we have two or three observations to make on the preliminary part of the work.

It appears from the preface to the translation, (for the original edition does not condescend to give us one syllable of explanation relative either to Jacquemont or his mission,) that in June, 1828, Jacquemont came to London to make some preparatory arrangements for his expedition. The *translator* taxes the French editor with something like ingratitude for not having acknowledged the civilities and assistance which Jacquemont received on this occasion from some individuals in London; but we are not quite sure that the French editor has not, in this single instance, acted with discretion. The chief assistance that Jacquemont received in London was a packet of letters of recommendation to sundry persons of consideration in India, and seeing (as our readers will by-and-by) how very unpleasant—even to those of whom he means to speak most civilly—must be Jacquemont's indelicate revelations of their social and domestic life, the French editor may have thought that he conferred a favour on the givers of those letters in not making them publicly responsible for their result. *We* honestly confess we never should have forgiven *ourselves* if we had had the misfortune to have introduced Jacquemont to any one of the ladies of whose names he makes such familiar, and we think indelicate use.

The translator next reproaches the Court of Directors—the 'Merchant-Kings' as he sneeringly—the '*Vieilles Perruques*,' as Jacquemont insolently calls them, of Leadenhall-street—with some illiberal reluctance—some 'fastidious delays'—to give M. Jacquemont the necessary permission to travel in their territories. Now, when we recollect some former French missions, which, *as is now avowed*, cloaked aggressive projects against our Indian empire, under scientific and diplomatic pretences—when it is notorious that the most powerful of the native princes, Runjeet Sing, has actually *French* officers in his service who have disciplined his troops in European tactics, even to the degree of receiving the word of command in *French*—we should have thought the Court of Directors highly blameable if they had, without some previous inquiry, opened India to this new mission.

[illegible] however, so far from being vexatious, or [illegible] *short*, for Jacque-[illegible] was less than three weeks. His [illegible] mission to the Asiatic Society [illegible] the Directors is dated the [illegible] Jacquemont, as a member [illegible] his complaint seems to [illegible] Sir [illegible]—so that the *tardy* [illegible] was granted within a week after [illegible] steps taken by his [illegible] We shall see, by-and-[illegible] ingenuous, we will say, [illegible] Directors, instead of [illegible] more reason, complain [illegible] does not appear) who so [illegible] whom they seem to have [illegible] intersection—if he tells the truth—[illegible] occasion, have produced very deplorable

[illegible] M. Jacquemont at Calcutta, we must [illegible] have on his passage out. Soon [illegible] Good Hope, the French brig-of-[illegible] passenger, fell in with an Eng-[illegible] after the stranger had hailed them [illegible] and known to be English—(she must [illegible] that every seaman must have seen she [illegible] which [illegible], we say, the captain of the [illegible] of terror, fired his *whole broad-*[illegible] and so near were the ships, that

sailor, wounded on board *their own* ship, in firing *their own* cool and well-directed broadside! Although we are unwilling to recur to the subject of Jacquemont's impiety, we cannot refrain from extracting the consistent conclusion of this remarkable story, which we sincerely hope is not characteristic of the French navy in general. The wounded man was so badly hurt that amputation of the arm became necessary, and his life was in danger—the rest Jacquemont shall tell in his own words.

'The priest, whom we have on board, of course availed himself of our man's amputated arm yesterday, to go and *puzzle* him with salutary thoughts on life and death. But, being informed of what was going on by M. de Melay, who had seen his reverence going on tiptoe towards the hospital door, I went immediately, and caught him in the *very fact of frightening the poor devil.* He understood me directly, and sheered off as soon as he perceived me. I have advised the wounded man's friends not to quit his bedside, but to keep the *curé*, as they call him, at a distance; if he insists, they will receive him with a good broadside of slang.'—vol. i. p. 66.

This M. de Melay was the royal governor of Pondicherry: M. Jacquemont also was on board in an official capacity; and both held appointments under a sovereign who then bore the title of *Most Christian King*—and who at least was *a Christian King!* The whole affair is in perfect consistence! Their broadside wounds their own man, and their public functionaries insult the discipline of the ship and the religion of the state! But it is time to turn our attention more directly to Jacquemont himself.

It is said by one of our essayists that, if you wish to discover a man's character, you should try to get him to talk of himself, because you may generally conclude that he is really the very reverse of whatever he may represent himself to be. This is literally true of Jacquemont, for *à force de se préconiser* as the most modest—the best natured—the politest and most fascinating of mankind, he convinces you that he was one of the most impudent, conceited, ill-bred, and tiresome coxcombs that ever inflicted their impertinence on society. Let us prove our assertion out of his own mouth.

We will begin with his débût in Calcutta:—

'The company was assembled in Lady William Bentinck's drawing-room. I was once more her *chevalier*, and sat next to her at dinner, that being of course the place of honour. Every thing around was royal and Asiatic: the dinner completely French and exquisite, delicious wines, served in moderation, as in France, but by tall servants with long beards, in white gowns with turbans of scarlet and gold. Lord William asked me to take wine, a compliment which I immediately returned, by begging the honour of taking wine with my fair neighbour, who was conversing with me on a variety of agreeable topics, and offered to act as my cicerone. To give our appetites time to revive for

and will temper our amusement at his folly with something approaching to disgust at his effrontery. Before we produce it, we think it proper to premise, that Lady William Bentinck is not more distinguished for her high rank and personal accomplishments, than for her *piety* and exemplary moral conduct in all the relations of life. We owe this preliminary tribute to an amiable lady, whose name we should not have been induced by any consideration to have quoted, if it had not been already obtruded on all Europe in this publication, and if the anecdotes in which she is mentioned had not been extensively circulated in our own periodical literature, without that censure of Jacquemont's ingratitude and impertinence which they so richly deserve.

'Lady William Bentinck is religious, *or rather endeavours to be so.*' —vol. i. p. 99.

'For a week I was overwhelmed with attentions [at the Governor-General's country house]. *There was no Lady William for any one but* ME. I spent several long days with her—*tête-à-tête—chatting about* GOD—*she for, I against*—of Mozart—Rossini—painting—Madame de Staël; of happiness and misery; and of LOVE in reference to both—of *all things*, in short, which require, if not intimacy, at least a *great deal* of *confidence* and *reciprocal esteem especially on the part of a woman*—English too—religious and strict, with a man—*young*, a BACHELOR and a—FRENCHMAN!'—p. 114.

This last word was utterly superfluous!—Is there a man in Europe but a *Frenchman* who could have penned such a passage even in the most confidential private letter?—is there a father in Europe, except a Frenchman, who would have sanctioned the publication of such a letter from a recently deceased son? Another passage, though not so flippant, is to our feeling—and, must be, we have no doubt, to that of Lady William Bentinck—still more offensive; for he would have us believe that these alleged discussions '*for and against* GOD' had a serious effect on her ladyship's mind.

'I,' says he, 'am no better for her attempt to convert me, whilst *she*, I really fear, is not quite so sure of the truth of her doctrine as she was before.'*—vol. i. p. 88.

We shall see, as we proceed, so many proofs of the mendacious vanity of the man, that we cannot help doubting even his most ordinary statements; but anecdotes so inconsistent as the foregoing with the character of *any* Englishwoman, and most especially with that of Lady William Bentinck, we reject at once, on the internal evidence, as well as on the general character of the witness.

There are some other ladies treated with, if it be possible, still

* This is our own version—the translator having, as we shall hereafter more fully show, mistaken this and *several other* idiomatic passages.

greater

from Paris; and *no* MODESTY *can prevent me from saying, that it is on my own personal account* [*pour moi et à cause de moi*] that every one has been so kind and hospitable. Wherever I went, I tried to pay in ready money, by giving some interest and a little diversity to the tiresome monotony of English [life]; talking, in fact—whenever I thought the folks fit to taste that pleasure so little known among the English.'—vol. i. p. 113.

This—for one who is obliged to make an effort to shake off even for a moment his natural *modesty*—is pretty well. We may by-and-by say a word or two on the severe judgment against English manners with which he thinks it necessary to contrast and set off the superior fascination of his own: at present, we shall confine ourselves to specimens of his '*genuine simplicity*' and '*want of pretension.*'

'I know not,' he says, 'how it is that I inspire *such confidence in* these people [the English society at Calcutta], that they *open their hearts to* ME upon points about which they are afraid to speak to each other after years of acquaintance.'—p. 85.

And again:—

'The English have *nothing which resembles what we call society*, and are almost universally destitute of that facility which we learn in it, of talking gracefully about nothings, and without dulness on serious subjects. We thus have an immense advantage over them, when we can lead them to a somewhat general conversation, the subject of which is sufficiently familiar to allow us *gradually to take the greatest share in it*, and to give it its tone. It is to this artifice that I owe most of my success in what they call their *society*.'—p. 281.

That is, the artifice of having all the talk to himself—a practice which does not usually produce such astonishing *success in society*. He proceeds:—

'A Frenchman has much greater facility in entering into an Englishman's friendship than another Englishman. They are like bodies similarly electrified, which repel each other. WE are decidedly more amiable than they—much more affectionate; and I see that *all who are worth anything* are CHARMED with my manners.'—p. 102.

But such is his extreme and *obstinate* modesty, that eighteen months experience did not entirely enlighten him as to the exact source of all this fascination. Of the *fact* of course he can have no doubt, but he is not quite so clear as to the *cause*.

'I am not *yet*,' he writes from the Himalaya in 1831, 'accustomed to the *singular attraction which I exercise over the English*—its effects often astonish me!'—p. 334.

In another passage he gives us a kind of arithmetical measure of his own good qualities. In stating to his brother the narrowness of his allowance of 6000 francs per annum, he adds,—

'I estimate

I estimate myself not according to money, but according to MY OWN *personal good and amiable qualities.* By the vulgar method, I should require at least 150,000 francs per annum to maintain the position which I occupy with my 6000 francs, and should still probably remain [illegible] £ 121.

Or, in other words, the 'personal good and amiable qualities' of Monsieur Victor Jacquemont are to those of ordinary men in the proportion of rather more than 150 to 6. This, however, must only be understood as of the relative merits of Jacquemont and an *Englishman*. With a *Frenchman*, the difference, though great, is not so considerable.

'If a thousand of *my countrymen* were to come into this country with double or triple what I brought, they could not probably succeed in getting into even tolerable society; by a peculiar [*unique*] favour I have obtained a dispensation from riches, and my relative poverty has only added to the gratification of my *amour propre*.'—p. 168.

That is to *any* Englishman I stand in point of personal merit as 150 to 6, to an *ordinary* Frenchman at about 2 or 3 to 1—but one Frenchman *in a thousand* might, perhaps, be equally successful! And what places the truth of these calculations beyond all doubt is, that it is the English themselves—arrogant and selfish as, on all *other* occasions, they are—who assign to M. Victor Jacquemont this exalted place in the scale of human nature.

Then, after he has left the artificial order of society, where men may be estimated by money, does *he* find that he is at all depreciated, he is, if we may venture to pursue his own allusion, a kind of Spanish dollar, which is current all the world over. He writes

Encamped at Mooneah.—'I have the happiness to *please every dis-*
[illegible]

in such presumptuous hopes, particularly when we recollect that in those passages in which he evidently speaks with the greatest enthusiasm and sincerity—we mean those which dilate on *his own* transcendent qualities—he seldom fails to enhance them by some very injurious comparisons with the dull, unhappy English—dull and unhappy, at least, when not instructed and enlivened by his vivifying presence. But, as we before hinted, it is not the English alone who are subject to his charm.

'Wade [the English resident] writes me word from Loodiana, that Runjeet Sing has written to him about me, and that of *all European lords* he had seen, no one pleased him so much as *I* have done.'—vol. ii. p. 9.

And then, lest it should be supposed that this was an unauthorised report of Captain Wade's, Jacquemont prudently confirms it by his own authority—

'He [Runjeet] *proves* it by his attention to me.'—*ib.*

Runjeet Sing, it is well known, writes and acts to every European he sees exactly as he did to M. Jacquemont—but all the commonplaces of oriental civility passed for honest tributes of personal admiration with this happiest of men.

Then his thoughts recur to the countless number of *dear friends* whom he has left scattered along the lines he has travelled, like little Poucet's pebbles in the forest—'whose friendship shows itself in his absence in a thousand ingenious ways,'—but he thinks it necessary explicitly to add—

'*I owe it all to myself.* I am the real architect of my fortunes. I do not allude to the 5000 rupees which I have collected in my strong box, [he however looked, as we see, to the main chance,] but to *the honourable reputation I enjoy with every one.*'—vol. ii. p. 74.

His friends in France were, it seems, astonished, and somewhat incredulous, at the accounts he had given of the amiability of the English; but he apprises them that they have read his letters too hastily—that he meant not to say that the English were amiable in general, but only made so by his means and under his influence.

'You say,' he writes to his father, 'that since the English are so amiable to me they must be very different in India from what they are at home—there may be something in that—but *I take to* MYSELF *the greatest part of the merit of this kind of* MIRACLE.'—vol. ii. p. 242.

'How singular is my fortune with the English! They assume to *me* an *expression of kindness, in spite of themselves* as it were, and probably *for the first time in their lives!* Your friendship for me, my dear Zoé, would enjoy the MIRACLES I thus and without effort operate.'—vol. ii. p. 260.

When a man gets to the performance of *miracles*, we think it high time to submit at once to his supremacy, and we therefore here close our feeble and imperfect exhibition of M. Victor Jacquemont's

innumerable and indescribable virtues and accomplish- as testified by the best-informed and most unprejudiced of —M. Victor Jacquemont himself.

all this very surprising?—We talk of the march of mind the lights of the age—but has there appeared, since letters invented, such an extravagant tissue of personal vanity?— thing that we recollect at all like it is the strange Auto- of Benvenuto Cellini; but here is a French *savant*, se- by his Government as a man of *science* and *discretion*— in his own family, even to ridicule, for *excessive modesty*— his first appearance in the world in higher flights of than the crack-brained Italian did, even after astonished the world by the still unrivalled productions of

M. Jacquemont's scientific qualifications for, or success which he was employed, we can pronounce no ; but, strange to say, amidst the vast mass of letters, and variety of topics which he introduces, there is scarcely to his scientific pursuits. We are told that his *col-* large, and for aught we know they may be found valuable articles,—but we confess that much addition to natural knowledge from He seems not to have been of a analytical turn of mind, and is miserably de- the first elements of induction. We shall give a few Happening to have fine weather during the first his voyage, he frequently and decidedly expresses a slight gale off the Cape only con-

the most appalling appearances and the most calamitous results both ashore and afloat; the *Zélée* was blown out of the roads, leaving Jacquemont, and, what was worse, all her officers—except one Lieutenant and one midshipman—on shore. This event cured him of his presumption about storms; but he does not seem to have drawn from it the better and more extensive lessons with which it was pregnant. Before he has even landed in India, he had formed a decided opinion on the insalubrity of the mode of life prevalent there amongst the English:—

'I am fortifying myself in a devout love of abstemiousness, which, I have no doubt, will cause me to enjoy perfect health in India, amid *hepatitis, fevers,* dropsies, and disorders without number, which afflict the rich English, who commit excesses at table *seven hundred and twenty times* a year.'—p. 77.

To this subject he frequently recurs—and repeats his censure of the perilous absurdity of the English mode of life—or we should rather say of *death*—for 'the English for the most part die,' as he tells us, 'from not following a regimen similar to his.'—(p. 122.) Nor is it at Calcutta only that this mortiferous system prevails; in all the remote stations, even up to the Himalayah, he regrets that his excellent and hospitable friends were—in spite of *his* precept and example—digging their own graves by those habits which cannot fail to produce, as this sapient oracle warned them, '*hepatitis, fever,* &c.;' and we cannot doubt that he would have given us a similar account of the deleterious habits at Bombay, but that—unfortunately—just as he reached that presidency, *he himself died* of '*hepatitis and fever;*' and it so happens, that, at the last account we have seen from India, all the numerous friends to whom he had predicted early death—the Bentincks, Wades, Kennedies, Halls, &c.—were—every man of them—alive to lament his loss, and what they may probably consider a not much lighter misfortune—the publication of his letters. A pretty conclusive refutation of his medical hypothesis.

It is to the same presumptuous and thoughtless style of reasoning that we attribute those violent *boutades* against the English character in general, which contrast so strongly with his panegyrics on every *individual* Englishman he encounters. He had imbibed, it seems, from the old apothecary his father—who, for aught that appears, had never been in England, nor even spoken to an Englishman—the idea that the English were 'stiff'—'proud'—'harsh'—'unamiable'—'with little natural affection' and 'no idea whatsoever of the charms of *society*.' M. Victor Jacquemont comes amongst them, and finds them to his infinite surprise, in every instance, and *without one single exception*—hospitable—kind—amiable—affectionate—social, and in short, the exact reverse of his preconception.

How does this phenomenon strike the mind of our philosopher? If his father, not from a history of Siam, had told him that all the elephants in India were *white*, while he had found, on the contrary, that every elephant, wild or tame, which he had seen, was, without a single exception in some thousand specimens, *brown*, would not a reasoning naturalist have suspected that the apothecary, who had never been in India and never perhaps had seen an elephant, except *one* in the *Jardin des Plantes*, might be mistaken, and that the real colour of the animal was certainly *brown*? Not so Jacquemont! in spite of the evidence of his own senses, he continues to be of his original opinion; but not being able otherwise to reconcile his father's *theory* with his own *experience*, he comes to this rational and scientific conclusion, that, although it is indisputably true that all elephants are naturally white, yet it invariably and '*miraculously*' happens, that *whenever a Frenchman approaches one of these animals he instantly becomes brown*;—or, to come to Jacquemont's point—all Englishmen are naturally *brutes*, but under the bewitching influence of a Frenchman, they miraculously change their natures, and become the most civilized and amiable of mankind.

The following, though not quite a corollary of the former proposition, is nearly allied to it. He sneers at the multitude of native servants which every lazy Englishman requires, and he contrasts that with his own *personal activity and simplicity*. 'I shall,' he says, p. 119, 'have but six servants, while an English captain of infantry,' [a vastly inferior animal to M. Jacquemont] 'would have *five and-twenty*.' And again—'An English ensign has a table in his tent, as well as chairs; for my part, I will eat kneeling on stamping.' (P. 123.) Now mark the sequel of this boast. We

great dissatisfaction in our Indian army. We can have no objection to any safe and reasonable economy, but one instance (amongst many others that have reached us) mentioned by Captain Archer in his amusing 'Tours in Upper India' (vol. i. p. 226), seems to us so unfeeling and so inhuman as to be almost incredible—the suppression of the *convalescent establishments* in the hills. We therefore hope it will turn out that—whatever Lord W. Bentinck may have thought fit to do with his own personal resources—the country which is so straitened in its finances as to be obliged to deny its own military servants the means of health and the chances of life, has not been put to any expense in furthering the mission of a *toad-eater!* We beg our French translator (if we are to have one) not to mistake this for *frog-eater*, and misrepresent it as a national reflection; we use it in its popular acceptation of a *sycophant*—a part which Jacquemont seems to have played with Lord William Bentinck; and if only such a trifle as twenty pounds has been expended from *the public purse* upon Jacquemont, we shall consider it as in principle a most reprehensible and unjustifiable misappropriation.

In the same strain as that last quoted, M. Jacquemont frequently censures the English for their harsh, not to say, inhuman treatment of the poor natives:—

'The English treat them like dogs and beasts of burden, the labour of which these poor devils in truth perform. For some days I imitated cold English *hauteur*, but returned afterwards into my natural character of a good-natured fellow.'—vol. i. p. 316.

Now, let us give a few sketches of the '*good-natured* fellow in *his natural* character:'—

'I have formed an escort as I could wish, of people accustomed to wait on officers, and to be harshly treated by them; and I am already so much modified by the contagion of example, that I will suffer no relaxation of discipline. A man [even the benevolent Jacquemont himself] is degraded, and brutalised, by living among such debased beings.'—vol. ii. p. 133.

Again—

'An ill-tempered fellow on the road having called me "*you*" this morning instead of "*your highness*," I was forced to give him a very severe lesson in politeness. I had fully as much right to do so as the Parisian philanthropist would have in boxing the ears of a rustic for *thee* and *thouing* him. I ought to be the more jealous about etiquette as the simplicity of my equipment, the hard life I lead, the privations and fatigues I endure along with my people, my dress of common stuff proper for this kind of life, and everything in me and around me, tempt them to depart from it. "My lord," therefore, is not sufcient for me; I must have "Your majesty," or, at least, "Your highness.'"—vol. ii. p. 213.

And again—

[illegible] Mountains] twice, at the interval of [illegible] occasion by the superstition and [illegible] men, much below the point [illegible] should in the same manner have [illegible] second expedition, if, to the first [illegible] had not added *threats of* [illegible] refused to march. One [illegible] of the Hindoos—re-[illegible] squatting in the sun, on [illegible] which we had been [illegible] and called back [illegible] the rock of revolt, [illegible] whose voice I [illegible] and *very dearly* too. [illegible] would have been [illegible] being besides the [illegible] most evil-intentioned [illegible] from the first that he [illegible] made the attempt. As [illegible] and humble condition, [illegible] did not know how [illegible] and mountaineers [illegible] joining their [illegible]

[illegible] exhibiting the effect [illegible] over the intimidated [illegible] by the unjustifiable [illegible] mistaken if Jacque-[illegible] character in which he [illegible] Governor-General, who, [illegible] to learn how grossly and cruelly

particularly snowy summit on one particular occasion—whereas Captain Mundy's men were disposed absolutely to desert his service before there was any difficulty, and on a mere apprehension. Let us see then how an English staff-officer, the aide-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, behaved on such an occasion. We hear of no bamboo—no assault—no constraint: on the contrary, the more obstinate were allowed to depart, and

'the others were *persuaded* by the promised *advantages* of additional *warm raiment* to accompany us: and though they sometimes looked sufficiently miserable, yet they did not suffer in their health by the unwonted change of climate.'—*Mundy*, vol. i. p. 238.

Indeed, the whole spirit of Captain Mundy's book—its unaffected simplicity—its accurate details—its brilliant descriptions of scenery—its slight, but able sketches of manners—and, above all, its modest tone and gentlemanlike spirit, afford a very striking and a very agreeable contrast with the confused and often unintelligible statements, and the eternal egotism of Jacquemont. It is remarkable, too, that we find in Captain Mundy's volumes—though his journey had no scientific objects and he pretends to no scientific character—ten times the number of facts in natural history that can be extracted from Jacquemont. Indeed, in the whole of the Frenchman's work there is scarcely an allusion to the peculiar objects of his mission: all that we recollect is, that he sent his cousin Zoé a primrose, which bloomed, he says, at a height which, in the European Alps, would have been above the line of eternal snow; he talks also of having seen one animal which he *hopes* may be a new species of a well-known genus; and he mentions that he had made a journey in search of a bed of shells, at a great elevation in the Himalaya—but with what result we have yet to learn. He talks, too, very vaguely, of having four times passed over snowy ridges higher by 700 metres than Mont Blanc; again, of having crossed mountains 18,300 feet high; and he adds, that in a five days' march, his lowest encampment was at the height of 14,000 feet (p. 265)—but not a hint of how these heights were ascertained; nor do we find any allusion to barometers or barometrical calculations, except in the description of the hurricane at Bourbon, when he says that his barometers were blown out to sea in the *Zélée;* and on one occasion in Cashmere he mentions in a cursory way his having had recourse to logarithms for ascertaining the height of that valley.

It is true that Jacquemont says that he reserves all his scientific observations for his official reports—and *there* they may have been entered—and *there* we may hereafter find them; but it certainly is singular, that a professed *savant* should have written such a mass of letters under such peculiar circumstances, without affording the slightest indication of anything that has even the colour

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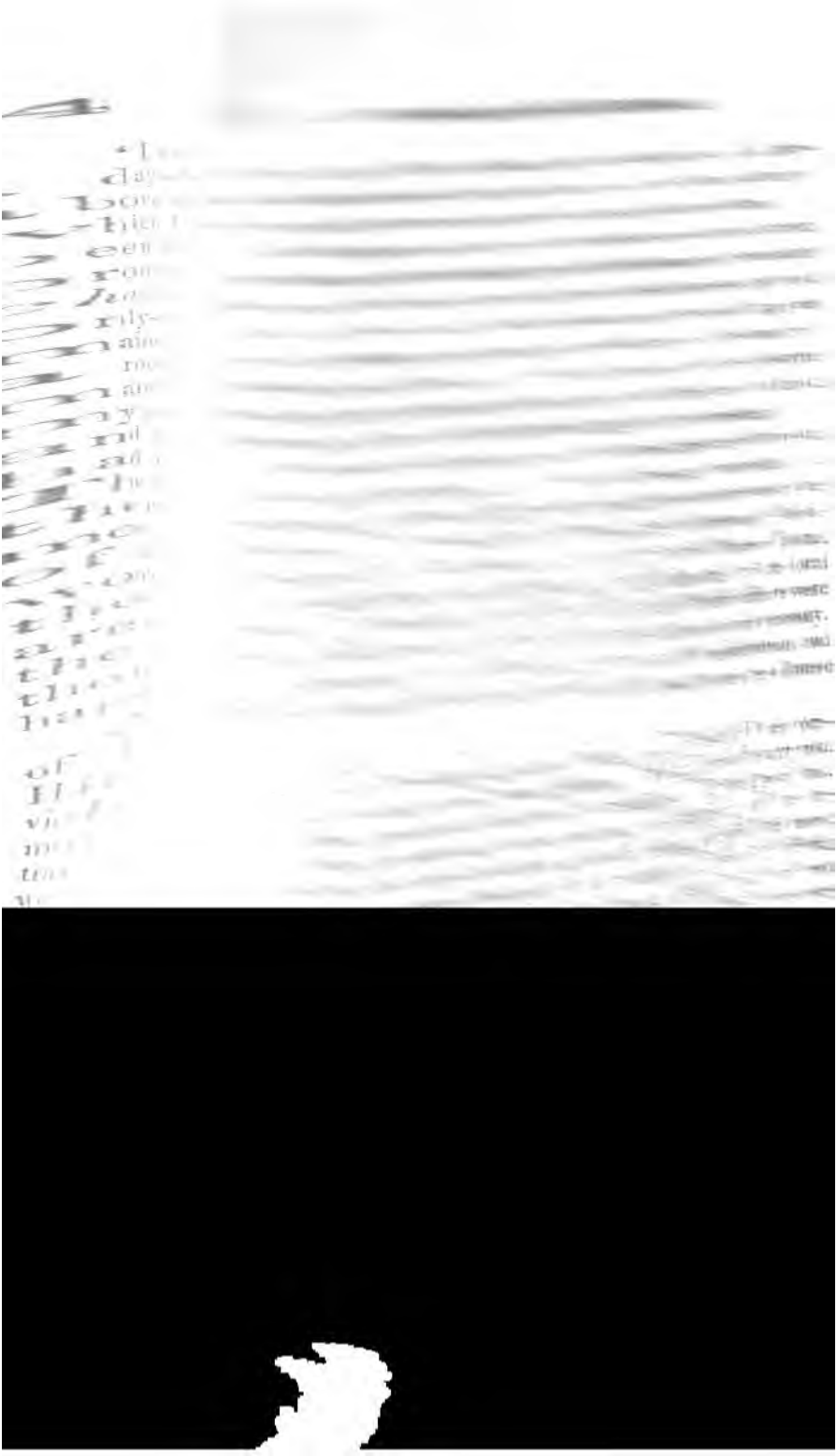

my friend, of living a year in India: a man thinks himself very sincerely insulted by every act which is not servile. Here I was wrong, for the poor devil of a Beharite was ignorant of Indian etiquette. But I saw only one thing—the colour of his skin; and, forgetting the difference of places, I took his ignorance for deliberate insult: *inde iræ*. His comrades had galloped away. The poor man remounted his nag with a good deal of trouble, and joined them as quickly as he could.'—p. 265-268.

And this insolent outrage was, in fact, still worse than it even at first sight appears; for it was not merely an outrage—it was a deliberate abuse of the confidence which the British authorities had placed in him, and might have produced retaliatory measures of plunder and bloodshed on our own frontier.

'My being a Frenchman is far from disadvantageous to me: an Englishman could not have undertaken the journey which the *French lord* has just terminated so fortunately. *The Government forbids English subjects to approach the Chinese frontiers*, in order to avoid the trouble of the complaints which violations of territory might excite. Being free from this restraint, and persuaded that my little caravan would march in these deserts like a conquering army, I fearlessly ran my chance.'—p. 298.

We must here observe, that not only was his personal conduct unjustifiable in violating the orders of the government under whose protection he travelled, but his attendants must have been persons supplied to him by the British authorities in consequence of Lord William Bentinck's commands. He goes on—

'Several times I found, in much greater numbers than my retinue, people assembled from all the villages around, to stop my progress: sometimes on the summit of a mountain, sometimes in a narrow defile which a single man might have defended against thousands, sometimes on the banks of a torrent. I never hesitated to push forward without paying attention to their injunctions; and I had very seldom occasion to use any of these good people roughly, in order to disperse their astonished companions. Notwithstanding their bold appearance before the engagement, I never saw in them any signs of resistance by open force; but they endeavoured to famish me, in order to force me to retire: they did not dare positively to refuse to sell me provisions, but laid a very high price on them, and the farther I advanced the more they increased it. At length I adopted the resolution which I ought to have taken in the first instance. I dictated the price myself, on a very liberal scale, and warned them that, if they did not submit to it, I would plunder the village, and carry off their cattle: a menace which was sufficient for my purpose, and which I had never any occasion afterwards to repeat.'—pp. 298, 299.

Again—

'They endeavoured to stop my progress by the excessive price they put upon the provisions of which my caravan stood in need. Their

went one mile in any direction where there is not a regular line of route laid down on the ordinary maps!

After this, as we believe, imaginary capture of Behar, he made another hostile excursion into Chinese Tartary, in which he states that he proceeded to a fort called *Dunker—which he took.* About this capture of *Dunker* we have still more serious doubts than about that of Behar. In the first place, we observe, that in *two* letters written to M. Beaumont, in a third to M. Dunoyer, and a fourth to M. Tracy, all expatiating on his personal prowess at *Behar* and all subsequent to the supposed capture of *Dunker,* there is no allusion whatever to any such event; and, though he boasts that he extended his excursion very far to the northward, and though Dunker is the most northerly point of his track—he does not so much as mention its name, but designates his extreme position by the quotations of the latitude of 32° 10′. The whole and *sole* mention of the capture of the fort of Dunker is, in a subsequent letter to his father, in these loose terms:—

'Assisted by three servants, I literally took the fort of Dunker, in Spiti, which you will find somewhere astride on the 32nd degree of latitude.'—p. 315.

Considering the loquacious vanity with which he repeats all his other personal exploits, it is strange that this one, performed on the extreme verge of his Himalayan excursions, should not have been more particularly explained. After all, he *may* have visited Behar and Dunker—other persons had previously done so, and there are routes to both laid down in the maps—but it must be regretted that he should have slurred over so loosely and obscurely these the two most interesting, because the most remote and least known, portions of his travels.

But we have still more distinct grounds for doubting his accuracy in such matters. He occasionally hazards an assertion which we can detect, amidst the studied (as it would seem) obscurity of his movements, to be unfounded, as, for instance, when he writes to M. de Tracy—

'I proceeded as far as the mountains *above* the source of the Jumna; I also *approached those of the Ganges.*'—p. 241.

And to M. de Beaumont—

'I went *to* the sources of the Jumna, and *near those of the Ganges.*'—p. 291.

And to M. de Tracy—

'On the 12th April I visited the sources of the Jumna—I also *approached those of the Ganges,* and ascended *considerably* above them on the eternal snows of the colossal chain that separates India from Tibet.'—p. 247.

Now, it is certain, that this story thus solemnly repeated three times over—of his *approach to the sources of the Ganges*—is, in the

that he had also approached the sources of *the Po*—some of which rise on the opposite side of Mont Blanc—distant only a few leagues in a direct line, but a journey of ten days or a fortnight by any practicable road.* When we find M. Jacquemont thus equivocating to some and *lying* to others of his most respected correspondents, we conclude that he is not more trustworthy when he is *palavering* to his cousin Zoé and his brother Porphyre. We ought, however, in fairness to add, that there is one circumstance which might account for his omission of all local description, and which renders it possible that he may have visited the sources of the Jumna and the interior of the Himalaya, though he says nothing of the natural features of either; namely—that Jacquemont, selected by the Parisian *savans* for this remarkable mission, had the strange qualification of being so *shortsighted* as not to be able to distinguish an object at more than a few yards distance:—

'My sight has certainly grown shorter within the last year: I only take off my spectacles to read and write, and even with them I do not see far enough to make use of my carbine. The range of my fowling-piece [from thirty to fifty yards] is just the same as that of my *eyes;* so I have left my carbine at Sharunpore.'—p. 207.

This really may be the cause not only of the extraordinary absence which we have noted of all local description, but of the very egotistical complexion of his letters. When a man cannot see what other people are about, he must naturally be a good deal occupied with himself. But, after making all allowances of this kind, we must repeat that M. Jacquemont was evidently by no means an adventurous traveller. He indeed promises—agreeably to his national proverb—'*Monts et merveilles;*' but the *monts* he never very willingly climbs, and the only *merveille* he thinks it worth while to produce is *himself.* He writes from the other side of the Himalaya:

'I shall return to India by the Burunda Pass, through what the Indian and European public improperly term the great chain of the Himalaya. The Burunda Pass scarcely exceeds fifteen thousand feet in elevation. This will be *mere child's play* to me, who have reached, four times, an elevation of eighteen thousand three hundred, and eighteen thousand six hundred feet.'—p. 286.

'*Child's play!*' very well! but what was the result? He did *not* attempt the Burunda or any other of the difficult passes of the chain. This adventurous and curious explorer of the Himalaya

* Captain Skinner, who seems to have possessed extraordinary courage, activity, and strength, was fourteen days in traversing the shortest practicable line between Jumnotree and the *sources of the Ganges.* The toil of the journey was immense, but was amply repaid by the magnificence of scenery to which M. Jacquemont does not even allude.

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various and beautiful trees and shrubs of these mountainous regions, I was delighted to recognize many old English friends. The oak and the rhododendron are the largest timber trees; and of the latter, which in Europe and America is a mere shrub, the beams of the Llandowr houses are formed. At this period they are covered with a luxuriant crimson flower, and their stems, as well as those of the oak, are thickly clothed with a long and hoary moss. During our descent I also discovered the cherry, pear, barberry and raspberry, which are unknown in the plains. Missouree is situated on a table-hill, and is less wooded than Llandowr: but it has greatly the advantage in point of space. We called upon Major Young, who resides here, and he obligingly furnished us with directions for hunting tigers in our progress through the Doon towards Simla. The descent we found infinitely more fatiguing than the ascent, but our nerves grew callous in proportion to our fatigue; though we were obliged to dismount in a few bad places. At Rajpore we found our gig, *and drove into Deyra just in time to dress for dinner.* It was a good day's work. We rode twenty-six miles, nineteen of mountain equitation, and drove seven miles.'—*Mundy's Sketches*, vol. i. pp. 185-190.

Thus we see that, in circumstances of such suffering and horror, that the magnanimous Jacquemont saw reason to suspect that the *vengeance of offended heaven* was specially aimed at *him*, these *bêtes* of English, with an 'awkward affectation of *manliness*' (vol. i. p. 92), seek for health and pleasure, and, after a good day's sport, *drive home in their gigs to dress for dinner.* We cannot now, for the last time, mention Captain Mundy's lively and interesting work* without requesting our readers not to judge it by the short and mutilated extracts we have made. We think it fully equal to Jacquemont's in point of amusement, and vastly above it in every other respect; and there is one very curious circumstance connected with the two works which we must notice, though we cannot explain. Captain Mundy's tour was made in 1828 and 1829, and his book published in London in 1832. Jacquemont died in the beginning of 1832, and never could have seen Captain Mundy's volumes; yet there are some remarkable passages in Jacquemont's letters which seem *identical* with facts stated by Captain Mundy. Any reader who will take the trouble to compare Jacquemont's account of the robbery in his tent, (vol. i. p. 214;) of the fall of his horse over a precipice, and his being caught in a tree half way down, (p. 350;) and of the residence, court, and person of the Rajah of Nahun, (p. 352,) with Captain Mundy's relation in similar words of similar accidents and circumstances occurring in the same neighbourhood—any person, we say, who will make the comparison, will, we think, see a strong similitude. Jacquemont

* Pen and Pencil Sketches of India. By Captain Mundy, late Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere. Second edition. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1833.

could

latter has at least the satisfaction of a complete revenge, for the elephant does not play the clarionet unconcernedly with his trunk, when he feels he has a tiger for his head-dress: he does his best, and the hunter assists him with a ball point-blank. The mahout is, you see, a sort of *responsible editor.* Another poor devil is behind you, whose duty it is to carry a parasol over your head. His condition is still worse than that of the mahout; when the elephant is frightened, and flies from the tiger, which charges him and springs on his back, the true employment of this man is to be eaten in the gentleman's place. India is the Utopia of social order for the aristocracy: in Europe, the poor carry the rich upon their shoulders, but it is only metaphorically; here it is without figure. Instead of workers and consumers, or governed and governors—the subtle distinction of European politics—in India there are only the carried and the carrying, which is much clearer.'—pp. 194, 195.

This, although the pleasantries are rather too elaborate, is lively enough—the best hit, however, that of the '*responsible editor,*' will be lost upon those readers who are not versed in the modern practice of the French courts in the trials of newspaper libels.

At Loodiana, on the banks of the Sutledge, M. Jacquemont was introduced to two ex-kings of Cabul,—Shah Zeman, who had been blinded as well as dethroned; and Shah Soojah, his brother, who had also been dethroned, but escaped with his eyes still about him into the Himalaya mountains. The adventures of Shah Soojah, who, after having been twice dethroned, is now a third time a king, are of the most romantic character. They have been recorded by himself in Persian, and translated and published in the Calcutta Journals. Of the two brothers M. Jacquemont says:

'There are two ex-majesties here, who preserve the title, and before whom I did not appear without taking off my shoes; these are Shah Zeman and Shah Shaudjah his brother, formerly kings of Cabul, Afghanistan, and Cashmere; and great sovereigns twenty years ago. The British government sent them a magnificent embassy, and sought their alliance, at the period when the presence of General Gardanne, at Tehran, raised some suspicion in the cabinet of Calcutta with regard to the views, generally not very pacific, of your friend, *the great man,* as Courier used to say. Mr. Elphinstone, the British Ambassador, disputed for a fortnight with the Grand Master of the Ceremonies and the Chamberlain of Shah Shaudjah, about the etiquette of his presentation to the king. The latter agreed at last to exact from Mr. Elphinstone only thirty-nine bows; while he himself, the king, would show his nose at the window, the ambassador remaining with his whole suite in the court-yard, at a distance of three or four hundred paces.

'His ex-majesty has the most magnificent black beard I ever saw; and I found him a very gracious personage. *A pensioner on British generosity, to which, in truth, he has no claim,* [we must be allowed to smile

[illegible] Shaudjah
[illegible] musical
[illegible] private
[illegible] overlooking front
[illegible] war.
[illegible] spoke to
[illegible] women broke
[illegible] handsome
[illegible] beautiful vest
[illegible] reserve
[illegible] Jemian, who
[illegible] which, however,
[illegible] spoken to me as
[illegible] became [illegible]—

[illegible] following account.
[illegible] Furnes, and
[illegible] Syuian's gravity

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[illegible] *ubusdam*
[illegible] the first
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[illegible] thousand ques-
[illegible] this world
[illegible] the devil, and

[illegible] far from it.
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[illegible] He puts off
[illegible] never puts

those of others; and what is worse, those which belong to everybody. In spite of the mystery which the orientals, even of the lowest class, throw over their intrigues, whether purchased or not, Runjeet has often exhibited himself to the good people of Lahore, mounted on an elephant, with a Mussulmaun courtesan.'—vol. i. pp. 395-400.

M. Jacquemont says that it was only after his entrance into the Punjab that he fully appreciated the benefit of British rule in India. Before he even reached Bengal, however, he had found out that 'the colossal magnitude of English sway was a blessing;' that 'the British colonial institutions were admirable, as seen at the Cape,' and 'those of the French execrable as exhibited at the Isle of Bourbon' and Pondicherry; at all which places he touched on his way thither. In p. 244, vol. ii., he remarks,—

'It is evident that it is not by physical force that the English keep under the immense population of these vast regions. The European army consists of only 20,000 men; that is all. The principle of their power is elsewhere. It is in the respect with which their character inspires these nations.'

Even the mode in which we have obtained our paramount sway in India, for which we have been so often and so largely abused by foreigners, appears neither unjust nor wonderful in the eyes of M. Jacquemont. He remarks (p. 233)—

'In France, we consider as an hypocritical farce the excuse of *necessity*, alleged by the English, for the prodigious aggrandisement of their Asiatic dominions; nothing, however, is more true, and certainly no European government was ever more faithful to its engagements than that of the Company.'

We believe it may be truly asserted, that in all the wars in which the British have been engaged in India, the native potentates were, more or less, the aggressors. Ambition is, in their eyes, as in the eyes of more civilized nations, a godlike virtue—'super et Garamantes et Indos proferet imperium.' It is true that the Company have generally indemnified themselves for the expenses of wars, thus forced on them, by extension of territory, so as at once to reduce the strength of their adversaries and augment their own; but their policy and their interest are and have been essentially pacific. Even the most successful wars, followed by acquisitions of territory and even of money, such as those waged against Tippoo, have not ultimately enriched their treasury; whilst some hostilities, even when prosecuted to a glorious termination, such as the late war with the Burmese, have entailed upon them ruinous expense. It must be confessed, no doubt, that territory has often been acquired in a more questionable way, by compelling the native princes, to whom we have supplied subsidiary troops, to cede portions of their possessions in payment of the military entertained for their protection and defence; but this

[illegible] seen the consequence of the non-[illegible] society, arising out of the vicious mis-[illegible] princes themselves; and has generally, [illegible] necessary to protect their subjects from ex-[illegible]. Jacquemont, in bearing testimony to the [illegible] the Company's policy, adds a remarkable [illegible] bad faith, ingratitude, and folly, by which [illegible] the reluctant interference of the English.

[illegible] have *obliged* the Company to absorb them all into [illegible] the other. They have all succumbed, in the rashest, [illegible] enterprises against the Colossus, *which would have* [illegible] *they not madly provoked* its interference. Thirty [illegible] English drove the Mahrattas out of Delhi, where they [illegible] in the fort, a blind old man, whose long life had [illegible] uninterrupted series of misfortunes. This was Shah [illegible] descendant of Timour. He had never reigned but by [illegible] English leave him his vain title, and pay him all the [illegible] enjoyed by the Mogul emperors. They give him a [illegible] ([illegible] millions of francs); guaranteeing this title, [illegible] advantages, to his family. What use do [illegible] made of the guns which have been given him for [illegible] whenever he leaves his palace? *He fired* [illegible] In less than five minutes the imperial [illegible] and the guns retaken. Well! such are the [illegible] They are all like children, who cannot be trusted [illegible] hands, not the princes only, but the whole [illegible] destitute of reason and moral sense.'—

[illegible]

[illegible] that these native governments are [illegible] *usurpations*—that *our* territorial

like such intruders. Our superiority in arms first compelled them to submit, and the general justice and humanity of our government have certainly gone very far to reconcile them to our dominion. But the *prestige* of our superiority is now, we fear, rapidly evaporating before the entire freedom of the native, as well as the European press—the diffusion of English education—the multiplication of half castes—and the increasing numbers of European settlers and adventurers of all descriptions. The late fanatic insurrection within a few miles of Calcutta, and the long continued Cole war at no great distance from it, are pregnant instances of the decay of that moral ascendency which Europeans once exercised over the native mind.

M. Jacquemont is, however, of opinion that 'the British power in India will never perish by foreign aggression; and in this opinion also we are inclined to agree with him. Yet, although the probabilities are that any western power which might invade India would be ultimately repulsed, prudence requires that a watchful eye should be kept on the movements not only of the Russians, but of others. What has been done may be done again. As to Russia, there can be little doubt that, supposing her to have *fully attained and secured* certain older as well as nearer objects, she might, without difficulty, land an army on the southern and eastern shores of the Caspian. She has already steam-vessels on that inland sea; and, by the Volga, troops might be embarked almost at the gates of Moscow, and conveyed, with little trouble or expense, to Astrabad on the south, or the Bay of Balkan on the east coast of the Caspian. From either or both those points the occupation of Khiva, which M. Mouraviev was sent to reconnoitre in 1820, would not be difficult; for the distance does not exceed two hundred or three hundred miles, across a region which is called indeed a desert, but in which Tartar camps and villages are found frequently interspersed; forage is procured for camels, the ships of the desert—and water at a depth of only eighteen feet; a country in which the Khan of Khiva, in 1831, maintained a large army for several weeks, according to Lieutenant Burnes, and which, in fact, has never opposed any serious obstacle to the progress of an invader, either on the side of Persia or Tartary. From Khiva, on the Oxus, the route is open upon, and along, the banks of that river to Bukhara, also reconnoitred by the Russian embassy under M. Mayendorff, in 1820; whence the road to Cabul has again and again been traversed by conquering armies. This is one route. The other, from Asterabad to Cabul, by Herat, presents no physical obstacles whatever. Both routes might be undertaken in combination and at the same time. From Cabul to the Indus there is no difficulty.

'The Russians,' M. Jacquemont remarks, 'might present themselves in

of summer, but in which our native and seasoned European troops could easily maintain themselves, if protected and provided with *munitions de guerre et de bouche.*

So much for Indian politics, as to which we perhaps have said more on this occasion than may seem to be called for by the value of M. Jacquemont's decisions on any subject—or even of his reluctant testimony to the excellence of our administration in that vast empire.

Of his opinions concerning his own country we shall offer a specimen. Of the July Revolution he received the first news with great enthusiasm, but seems to have been surprised, as well as displeased with the subsequent account of the results of that fraudulent insult on common sense.

'What blunders the Chamber of Deputies committed in the first week of last August! I see by the English papers that M. de Lafayette has resigned the command of the national guard, which proves that there is discord in the camp of our friends. But now that we have returned to the famous legal order, how can we sweep off the peers by an ordinance? Peyronnet would cry out from his prison, "Set me at liberty, since you have infringed the new charter, as I did the old!"' —p. 109.

And subsequently—

'My letters last winter expressed the enthusiasm with which the revolution inspired me, and the bitter regret I have sometimes felt at being so far from France at that memorable period. Since then my opinion concerning those great events has much changed. It has been modified, like your own, in proportion as I saw so many base, absurd, and ignoble consequences proceed from so noble a principle. I see many people speak in the tribune of the events of the great week, as being their handiwork—as if they had fired a gun in the streets with the working mechanics, and as if it was not solely by the muskets of these mechanics that the revolution was achieved.'—p. 173.

We can have no great faith in his appreciation of our own national prospects, but as a specimen of the opinion of the radical youth of France it may be worth quoting:—

'However, the thing [a revolution] is brewing in that quarter [England]. You and I are destined to see the shell burst. The abolition of the rotten boroughs will do no more good there than did Catholic emancipation in Ireland. That which the Irish most wanted before all—especially before the equality of political rights—was potatoes to eat: emancipation has not put a single one more into their mouths. What the English people now want is bread. They have the simplicity to believe that a reformed parliament will give it them: an error which they will soon rectify when they come to put their new electoral laws to the test. I would not exchange the lot of France for the next thirty years for that of England.'—pp. 210, 211.

On the whole, it is observable that, as Jacquemont recovered

 from

Tristram Shandy being any man's *solid dish* is too ludicrous, and therefore our honest translator softens it into 'Tristram Shandy is a feast of itself.' We note this trifle the rather because the mention of Tristram Shandy in this letter, dated 19th December, 1828, led, as we apprehend, to a little subsequent *embarras* in M. Jacquemont's respectable family. We have seen that M. Jacquemont had a young female cousin residing at Arras, Mademoiselle Zoé de Noizet, and we find that in July, 1831, Jacquemont learned, by a letter from his fair cousin, that, after his example, she had been endeavouring to perfect herself in the English tongue, and for that purpose had undertaken—of all the books in the world—to translate *Tristram Shandy*. Jacquemont, who in the interval had probably so far improved his English as to be able to see the drift of Tristram Shandy, is exceedingly surprised at the choice which poor Miss Zoé had made, and he writes to her to express, as decently as he can, that it is altogether an *improper book* for her purpose. He had, no doubt, totally forgotten the style in which, two years and a half before, he had talked of Tristram Shandy; but what wonder that the poor girl and the poor girl's friends thought that if she were to learn English, no book could be more proper than that which her clever literary cousin had taken with him all the way to India as his *solid dish?* We, however, can easily imagine Zoé's perplexity in endeavouring to discover, in the obscure and filthy sensualities of Sterne, the moral meaning which had recommended the book to the *savant*. But it is clear that to this hour the learned family of the Jacquemonts have not discovered their error; for however indifferent they might be about Lady W. and Lady G., they would not, knowingly, exhibit their young relation in so ridiculous a light. Nor do we think the *savant* himself ever knew very much about English literature, which he so confidently talks of, for we find him saying, so late as May, 1831—

> 'That he has no appetite for his dinner if he has not *Locke or Sterne*, or some other illustrious dead to bear him company at table.' —vol. ii. p. 72.

We need hardly suggest, that no man who had ever read and understood a page of any of Locke's works, would have classed him with the author of 'Tristram Shandy.' In truth, Jacquemont knows no more about Locke than dear Zoé did of Sterne. And although he talks of his great proficiency in English—and of the set speeches which he made in that tongue to Lord William Bentinck on his first arrival—we find that even after having spent *six* months in the society at Calcutta, where, he says, he spoke nothing but English, he can make no better attempt at our language than the following:—

'Conclude

ditable to the zeal and intelligence both of questioners and respondents, that 'no place has been known finally to have omitted making due return, though the number of such places amounts to 16,655, besides 11,301 returns on the subject of parish registers.' * To digest, and reduce into order, so as to render easily accessible such an unwieldy bulk of information, required a mind at once strong, and clear, and indefatigable: rightly, therefore, was the task remitted to Mr. Rickman, who had, for thirty years, so successfully laboured in the same field—to whom experience had shown the defects of the three previous decennial investigations,—to whose suggestions much of the present amended mode of inquiry has been owing,†—and to whom we are indebted for a most lucid arrangement of the consequent returns—together with calculations, inferences, and results both in a tabular form and in the important observations contained in his preface, besides above four thousand three hundred notes scattered through the volumes,—*passimque spargere lucem.*

Mr. Rickman's preface is indeed a curious document in more ways than one. We once heard an eminent lawyer declare that a clause of an Act of Parliament, in which the arrangement of the words was the best that could be, gave him as much pleasure in the perusal as the finest stanza of Spenser's. In the same way everything which is perfect in its kind, and consummately contrived to answer its purpose, may convey to one who understands its skilfulness, a pleasure similar to that with which we contemplate what is more distinctively denominated a work of art. Such a sort of satisfaction have we derived from Mr. Rickman's preface. It is not alone remarkable in respect of its scientific merits, but is also worthy to be studied as exhibiting perhaps the most perfect example which is anywhere to be found of practical ability in setting on foot a statistical inquiry of enormous extent.

It is curious to trace the devices, and interesting to contemplate the success, with which a statistician sitting in his closet could take order for the execution of a project which required that twenty-four millions of mankind should, in the course of one day, render

* After noticing the ambiguity of the terms parish, parochial chapelry, &c., and another class of doubtful parishes created by the act of 1818, for the building of additional churches in populous parishes, Mr. Rickman says, 'for any general purposes the number of parishes and parochial chapelries, in England and Wales, may safely be taken at 10,700. The number of places in England and Wales, of which the population is distinctly stated in the present abstract, is 15,609; the number of parishes in Scotland is 948; of population returns, 1046.'—*Pref.* p. 18.

† See his elaborate statements in the 'Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on the Bill for taking an account of the Population of Great Britain, and of the increase and diminution thereof,' ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11th May, 1830; and again before the 'Committee on the Re-committed Bill,' ordered to be printed, 26th May, 1830.

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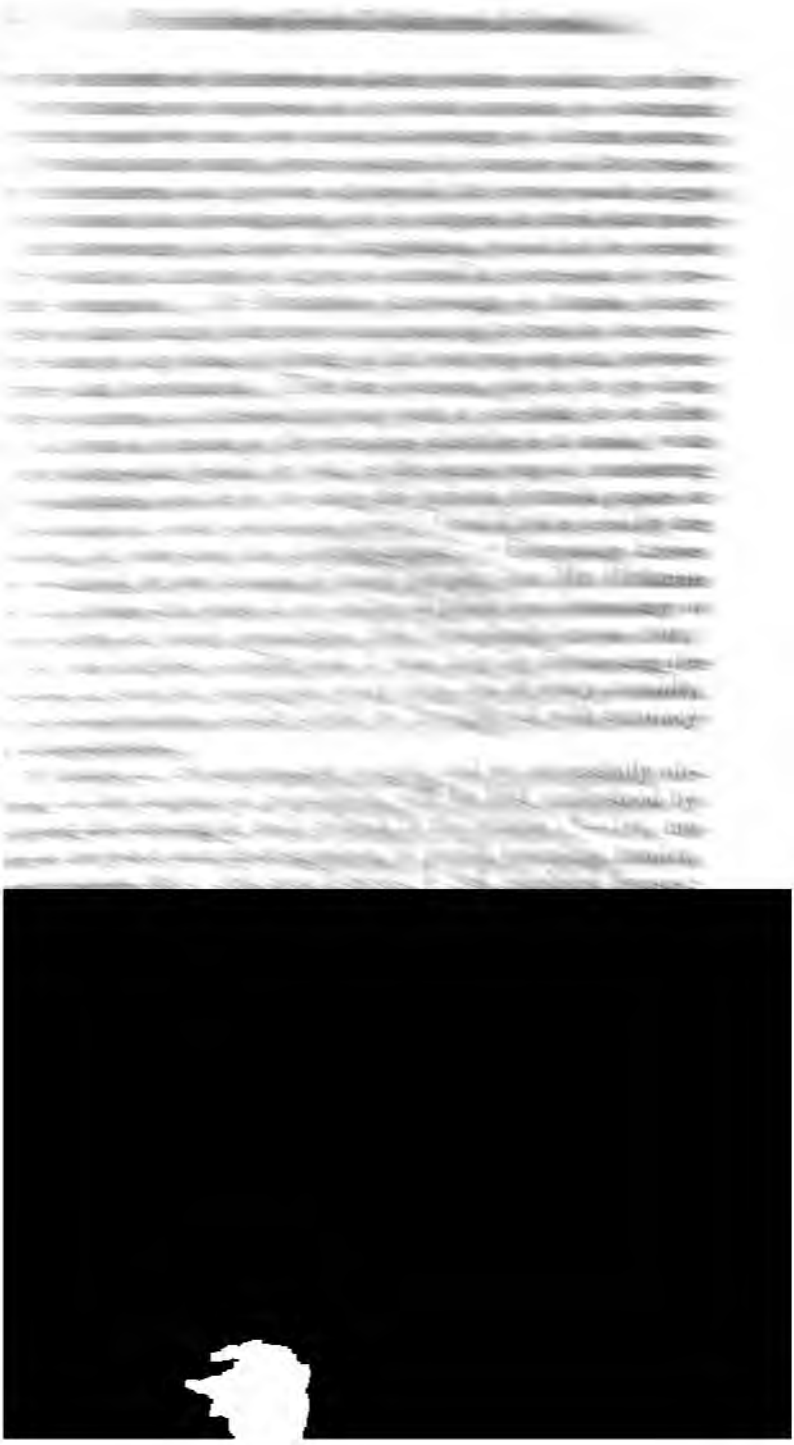

or workmen; 19th, as capitalists, bankers, professional and other educated men; 20th, males above twenty employed in labour not agricultural; 21st, other males above twenty years (except servants); 22nd, male servants above twenty; 23rd, male servants under twenty; 24th, female servants.

Before proceeding to notice the most interesting results of these inquiries, it is desirable, in order to place under one view the scope of the whole investigation, to state here the nature of the information sought and obtained from the parish registers of England and Wales. Each officiating minister was requested to state,—1st, the number of baptisms and burials appearing in his register in the several years from 1821 to 1830, both inclusive, distinguishing males from females; 2ndly, the number of marriages in each of those years; 3rdly, the ages of the deceased, from 1813* to 1830, both inclusive; 4thly, the number of illegitimate children born in the parish or chapelry during 1830, distinguishing male and female children; 5thly, any explanatory remarks are requested on any of the subjects, particularly on the annual average number of births, marriages, and deaths, which may have taken place without being registered. Such, then, are the perquisitions that have been made; and we shall proceed to notice some of the most curious and interesting results.

First, with regard to territorial division:—Mr. Rickman justly deprecates any alteration of the boundaries of those places from which the returns have hitherto been made, as tending to diminish the value of the comparative results of different censuses. But this seems no reason for allowing such divisions to continue in reference to other subjects, where it produces effects of unbalanced evil. What Mr. Rickman seems alone to contemplate is the circumstance where parishes and counties are not conterminous. In that case, the inconvenience, it must be admitted, is not of comparative magnitude. But where portions of counties are insulated in other counties, or separated by an intervening county, the evils are of so enormous a magnitude, that, even if a change in their political and juridical allocation should disturb, as far as they were concerned, the results of statistical investigations, yet these ought to succumb to considerations of paramount interest. Happily, however, there is no necessary collision of interests. The statistical boundaries may remain unaltered whilst the political and juridical districts may be consolidated with infinite advantage, just as the circuits of the judges, the diocesan divisions, and the justiciary districts are efficient, each to their own purpose, without any mutual interference.

* The Act (52 Geo. III. c. 146) requiring the age of the deceased to be inserted in the register of burial, did not take effect till 'from and after 31st Dec. 1812.'

In

We have had, however, the curiosity to calculate and compare London and Liverpool, as somewhat similarly situated. We find London, for every hundred houses, has 171 families, and 1 in 44 of its population died in the year 1830: whilst Liverpool, for every hundred houses, has only 131 families, and only 1 in 52 of its population died in the same year. Hull has 134 families in 100 houses, and 1 in 49 is the mortality; whilst Bristol has but 131 families in 100 houses, and only 1 in 61 dies. The differences in mortality are obviously not proportioned, however they may be influenced, by isolation of domicile, because there are other influencing causes. Thus, though the isolation in Liverpool be the same as in Bristol, yet the mortality in Liverpool is much greater, of which one cause is particularly insisted on by Dr. Currie, viz., the residence of numerous families in cellars, or underground apartments. Again, in Manchester there are 116 families to 100 houses, and the mortality is 1 in 30; whilst in Birmingham, where there are only 105 families in 100 houses, the mortality is less than half—1 in 68. This enormous disproportion is probably owing, principally, to the destruction of juvenile life, by the joint cupidity of the employers and the parents of children in the Manchester manufactories; whilst the material of the Birmingham manufacture being intractable to the fingers of childhood, the parties are not exposed to the same temptation.*

In the woollen manufacture the applicability of infant labour holds a middle place; and the crowding of population and the mortality are somewhat proportionately less; for in Leeds there are 111 families in 100 houses—and 1 in 48 dies.

If such be the apparent influence, when the difference in the congregation of families under one roof is small, what must be its amount where, as in Dublin, there are 252 families in 100 houses, in Edinburgh 319, and in Paisley 360; but we have no means of ascertaining the mortality in these places.

We are sorry to observe that whilst, in England and Wales, the coacervation of families has been diminishing about two per cent. in the interval between the last two censuses, it has, in Scotland, increased at about the same rate. Nor is the disproportion likely to be remedied; for in Scotland the houses building make 1 for 147 of those inhabited, whilst in England and Wales the proportion is 1 to 103; the uninhabited houses, however, are to the inhabited as 1 to 20 in England and Wales, and only as 1 to 30 in Scotland. In the two kingdoms together, it is satisfactory to

* On this subject it is much to be regretted that many of the registers connected with the Manchester population do not notice the ages of the deceased. It would have been highly interesting to estimate, from such a scale, the operation of the legislative limitation to the hours of children's labour.

observe,*

[illegible] data, among the last decennial period, whilst the propor[illegible] of houses building is very nearly the same, that of the unin[illegible] houses is diminished about sixty per cent.

[illegible] of prosperity we have a remarkable testi[illegible] of this in Dublin; for whilst the proportion of uninhabited [illegible] in Scotland, that of the houses building [illegible] of exceeding above eleven per cent. [illegible] in England. We have often heard a cry, too, [illegible] Dublin had been deserted, and [illegible] uninhabited. Now, the fact is, that [illegible] in Dublin than in the [illegible] kingdoms:—the uninhabited [illegible] Dublin, being respectively one [illegible] So much for clamour, and so much for facts [illegible] clamour; or, if it cannot be [illegible] the light of day, may confuse the screech-owl.

[illegible] relative to the classification of the [illegible] occupations, and to the [illegible] compared therewith. In the pristine state [illegible] and riches of the soil of a country are the [illegible] and comforts of its inhabitants. But, as [illegible] more than is necessary to the support of [illegible] on it, the additional population is [illegible] the comforts of all by manufacturing for [illegible] or by exchanging with foreigners. In this state [illegible] of the people be active and intelligent, and the laws [illegible] and security to property, the profits on such occupations may cause an increase of the population beyond the power of the land to feed them, and a part, perhaps a large

capital, which has been collected from all countries, takes wing, like a bird of passage, in search of a milder climate. Civil commotion or foreign invasion, therefore, comes upon such an artificial structure of society like an infuriated bull into a glass-shop, where the materials are as fragile as they are splendid, and irreparable till all be fused and recast in the fire. Not so with a nation depending principally on indigenous products, and on manufacturing them for their own use. War may pass over, like a storm, and blast the fruits of a season, but the root of prosperity is in the soil, and will soon spring again with all its original vigour and fruitfulness.

How far our own country is in the one or other state here described is a question of fearful import. Hitherto the blessing of our insular situation has enabled us to carry on the works of peace in the midst of war; and hitherto our happy constitution, whilst giving the fullest security to person and property, has exempted us from intestine commotions. It will be asked, Are we not right to avail ourselves, still further, of such fortunate concurrences as have already made us the wealthiest, the happiest, and the most powerful nation on the face of the earth?—So said Tyre and Carthage, Venice and Holland; and so said the builders of the Tower of Babel, and hoped to climb thereby to heaven. Have we made a wiser use of our power? Have we contented ourselves with enjoying the prosperity, whilst it lasted, without making ourselves dependant on its permanency, and without involving ourselves in utter ruin if it should fail? Have we not acted like the proprietor of a mine, who should burthen his patrimonial estate with an immense debt, the mere interest of which he can only hope to pay from the produce of a vein which may run out or be blown up to-morrow? These, as we have said, are fearful questions, which the occupation-columns in the returns of the population may assist in solving. We shall here give the result of our calculations on the data, and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions:—The total of families in Great Britain is 3,414,175, of which there are employed—

Chiefly in agriculture .	961,134	centesimal proportion	28·15
In trade, manufactures, and handicraft .	1,434,873	,,	42·03
Other families .	1,018,168	,,	29·82
			100

The returns, however, afford another mode of viewing the subject, to which we are bound in justice to advert, because it exhibits the agricultural class as bearing a larger proportion to the whole. In previous censuses some difficulties had arisen in classing the families

Chiefly in agriculture .	884,339	Centesimal proportion	63·8
In trade, manufactures, and handicraft . . .	249,359	,,	18·0
Other families . . .	251,368	,,	18·2
			100

The agricultural proportion is a quarter more than double, and the proportion of trade, manufactures, and handicraft above a quarter less than half these porportions, respectively, in Great Britain.

This comparatively low state of the non-agricultural classes in Ireland arises—not from the inability of the land to support a large population above the number employed in cultivating it—but from the habits of the people—from their being contented to multiply on its produce in the most sordid state of existence—from the insecurity for person and property frightening away capital and capitalists—and from the mutual re-action of these, as cause and effect.

We venture to make these suggestions, notwithstanding what Mr. Malthus calls Mr. M'Culloch's 'very peculiar and untenable argument,' but what we should call his paradoxical dogma, that the expatriation of Irish landlords, and the exportation of their rents, do not at all diminish the prosperity of Ireland. We do so, because, after all the mystification that has enveloped the dogma, we think its absurdity may be unveiled in a very few words.

It is obvious, that when the Irish landlord spends his rent in London, the tradesmen, with whom he exchanges that rent for goods, will not part with their goods for the simple equivalent of the cost, but will have a profit on that cost; that profit will increase their capital—that is, their means of employing labour: the quantity of produce, that is, the objects of enjoyment, will be augmented; and the wages of the labourer, that is, his means of purchasing such enjoyments, will be augmented also. This is a process on which the very system of political economy depends; and on which none of its doctors differ; and we leave Mr. M'Culloch to show that it is of that venomous nature, which must cease to exist on being transferred from England to Ireland.

An important subdivision (also for the first time) has, by the census of 1831, been made of the agricultural class into 'occupiers employing labourers' (who are found to be 187,075); 'occupiers not employing labourers' (168,815); 'labourers employed in agriculture' (887,167).

It might appear, that the second class stands to the first much in the same relation as the yeomanry to the landed gentry, and the yeomanry being exempt alike from the instigations of want,

may, in some sort, be considered as servants, yet their remuneration must be much less than that of independent servants of occupiers employing strangers. And to that cause must, in a great measure, be attributed the fact, that in Great Britain the number of female servants (670,491) is to the males (113,224) as 5·9 to 1; whilst in Ireland the females (253,155) are in proportion to the males (98,742) only as 2·5 to 1.

Having thus cursorily glanced at the principal subjects—for volumes might be written on the details—of what are called the Enumeration Abstracts of Great Britain and Ireland, we come to the volume on the Parish Register Abstract of England and Wales; the results of which are most highly interesting, not to this kingdom only, but to the whole of the civilized world; furnishing, for calculations of the highest import to philosophy and to practical life, data of an authenticity and minuteness of detail, and on a scale of such magnitude, as had been the wish, rather than the hope, of philosophers; and the publication of which has been anxiously waited for by all the statisticians of Europe.

The general subjects of inquiry, of which this volume presents the results, have been already stated. Of these results, Mr. Rickman's lucid arrangement furnishes not only local summaries, but a general summary as regards the kingdom. And, in the preface, he has shown the applicability of the results to the solution of the most important questions, upon which men of the first talents and information have, for want of data, come to very different conclusions, or declared their inability to arrive with certainty at any.

The first tables for regulating contracts on insurance of lives, and the more complicated subject of survivorship, were constructed from the registers of great towns, on account of the easier access to large numbers, on which alone a just average could be obtained. Thus Buffon's calculations were derived from the register of Paris; Simpson's, from those of London; Halley's, of Breslaw. It was obvious, however, that as the mortality of cities notoriously exceeds that of rural districts, the tables formed on such registers could not be fairly applicable to the general population of any country; and only so probably (from local peculiarities) each to its respective place of registration; as indeed may be inferred from their mutual discrepancies. This defect was afterwards endeavoured to be remedied by tables formed from the registers of smaller populations,—as Chester, Norwich, Northampton, Warrington, &c.; and, accordingly, the calculated probability of life, at its several periods, was considerably enhanced; still the numbers were too small, and the scrutiny too confined to peculiar localities, occupations, and habits of life. In the Swedish tables, indeed, both civic and rural population is included; but to the more southern

The advantage of these large numbers, in producing a medium or average result, at every period of life, requires no formal explanation; it may be illustrated, however, in a manner of some importance to the public. In the year 1815, Mr. Milne (Actuary of the Sun Life Assurance Society) published his Treatise on the "Construction of Tables of Mortality," founded on facts collected by Dr. Heysham at Carlisle. Mr. Milne, applying to these facts such local and general knowledge as was available to his purpose, formed a corrected table of the Expectation of Life; and with so much sagacity of induction, that from the age of twenty-five to eighty his expectation falls (as it should do) between the Expectation of the two sexes resulting from the powerful apparatus now applicable to the solution of this important problem. But the comparatively small number of deaths at Carlisle furnished by Dr. Heysham did not suffice for reducing to regularity the entire curve of life; so that Mr. Milne's Expectation, from one period to another in the course of life, is not accurate; but the Expectation of the entire life is much oftener in question; and the present confirmation of the Carlisle Tables cannot but be satisfactory to all parties, retrospectively, who have had the good fortune to consult Mr. Milne as to the value of life annuities and reversionary payments.

The 3rd important element for calculation above stated, namely, the rate of increase or diminution of the population (or as the French writers more shortly express it, *the movement of Population*) has been overlooked by some statisticians, who have thereby been led into most erroneous conclusions, assuming in all cases, what can scarcely occur in one, a completely stationary population; and using the rule, which is good on the hypothesis, for facts of retrograde or progressive population, where it is quite inapplicable.

Thus it is obvious that, in a stationary population, the number of people, divided by the annual deaths, will express the rate of mortality. But apply this to an increasing population (which implies that the births exceed the deaths), the divisor (the number of deaths) remains the same, whilst the dividend (the number of people) is increased by the increment of births; the quotient, therefore, which is to show the rate of mortality, will be too high, showing one in sixty, for example, to die, when the real deaths are one in fifty. In like manner is influenced, by a change in the movement of population, the probability of life, or the mean age of death and the expectation of life at birth, or the age to which half the born live.

With regard to this last particular, there is a very curious table given in Mr. Rickman's preface, exhibiting the proportion in which the expectation diminishes with the per-centage increase in the

In spite, however, of the principle here explained, persons aspiring to high characters as statisticians, and some who have acquired great reputation, go arguing and calculating on, assuming always the hypothesis of a stationary population, and setting forth the results in philosophic maxims or tabular forms,* which can only lead others to fall into the same ditch with themselves. Thus M. Quetelet, editor of the 'Correspondance Mathématique et Physique de l'Observatorie de Bruxelles,' and author of several statistical works, in discussing the formation and results of different tables of mortality, professedly founds the whole '*dans l'hypothèse d'une population stationaire.*'† In a subsequent work,‡ however, he admits the necessity of allowing for the movement of population, and also points out that, even in a stationary population, no just conclusions can be drawn unless the births and deaths in each class of ages be equal. For example, war or some peculiar disease might sweep off an unusual proportion of the older classes, which might be compensated by an increased number of births; in which case, the population might be stationary, whilst the elements of calculation would be wholly disturbed. But no extraordinary cases could occur without attracting sufficient attention to prevent general inferences being drawn from such partial results. Thus, for example, no one would form a general scale of mortality from periods of extraordinary scarcity—as in 1801, when the price of wheat was 128*s.* the quarter, and the burials 1 in 42 of the population; or in periods of extraordinary cheapness—as in 1822, when the wheat was 53*s.* the quarter, and the burials only 1 in 54.

With regard to M. Quetelet, he has strongly reprobated our deficiency in statistical knowledge;§ and as far as our registers of births and deaths extend, it must be in part admitted; though, by each clergyman having in the last census given, to the best of his knowledge, a return of the unregistered numbers in each class, and corrections having accordingly been made in the summaries from which all statistical calculations are deduced, even those deficiencies

* There is a curious specimen of this in a heterogeneous compilation of public documents by Mr. G. R. Porter of the Board of Trade, who gives, without observation of any kind, Mr. Rickman's Table of Mortality for England and Wales, deduced from the account of ages of deceased; though Mr. Rickman had said, in his Preface, (p. 45) speaking of similar tables for the several counties, that 'from the increase of population the decimal annexed thereto is of little use beyond the earliest years of life.' But the table looked like a learned document, and it filled up a page. Yet this is the person who, in his prefatory letter to the Lords of Trade, vilipends the proceedings on the Census, and modestly proposes the transfer of the business to his own office. See 'Tables of Revenue, Population, Commerce,' &c., Part ii. 1832, p. 91, fol. Nov. 1833.

† Recherches sur la Royaume des Pays Bas, p. 20, 8vo. Brux. 1827.

‡ Recherches sur la Reproduction et sur la Mortalité de l'Homme aux différens Ages, &c.; par MM. Quetelet et Smits. Bruxelles, 1832, p. 43.

§ See his evidence before the Committee on Parochial Registration (1833), p. 121.

are

afforded by the Population Abstracts, after subjecting them to all the tests furnished by the present state of statistical knowledge.'* As a necessary element, he has endeavoured to ascertain the population of England and Wales in the middle of each year, at decennary periods, beginning with 1700. The principle, as explained in a previous note, on which this has been effected, appears briefly thus. At periods when the population was actually enumerated, and the increase of population known, the proportions of concurrent births, deaths, and marriages, were ascertained; and those proportions being again ascertained at periods when no enumeration took place, the rate of increase or decrease in the population was inferred from those proportions.

Mr. Finlaison, then, thus states the population of England and Wales from the year 1700 to the year 1830, including the army, navy, and merchant-seamen. We have calculated and added a column of the per-centage movement:—

A.D.	Population.	Per Cent.	A.D.	Population.	Per Cent. Increase.
1700	5,134,516	Decrease	1770	7,227,586	11·5
1710	5,066,337	1·3**	1780	7,814,827	8·1
		Increase	1790	8,540,738	9·1
1720	5,345,351	5·5	1800	9,187,176	7·5
1730	5,687,993	6.4	1810	10,407,556	13·2
1740	5,829,705	2·4	1820	11,957,565	14·8
1750	6,039,684	3·6	1830	13,840,751	15·7
1760	6,479,730	7·2			

It may be interesting to compare with this the movement of French population, though the means of doing so only extend to the current century: previously, all was conjecture and discrepancy of opinions, as may be collected from some strangely immethodical statements of Sir F. D'Ivernois in his pamphlet, 'Sur la Mortalité Proportionnelle des Populations Normandes,' &c. Genève, 1833. Necker, it appears, in 1784, by multiplying the deaths by 29·6, calculated the population at 24,227,333; whilst, in 1789, Dr. Price, zealous for the aggrandizement of revolutionary France, maintained her population to be thirty millions. On Buonaparte's accession to the consulate, in 1800, the minister, Chaptal, in execution of Laplace's plan, caused to be collected the mortuary registers of nearly two millions of inhabitants, selected in many different localities: but from a desire to choose such as had the most exact registers, town populations were preferred. And as the mortality is always greatest in towns, the result was an assumption of a mortality of 1 in 30; which, by so near an approximation,

* Preface of 1831, p. 45.

** Was the decreasing state owing to the wars in Flanders, in which (with the exception of the four years' Peace of Ryswick) England was engaged from 1689 to 1713, and which must have retarded the recovery from the calamities of the civil wars of Charles I, and the wars of the Commonwealth?

gave

born is to that of females as 104·35 to 100; yet the proportions of the sexes existing at different ages, and of the respective numbers dying at any given age, are very different. Thus Mr. Finlaison has found that half the males born in England and Wales live to the age of 43½; their mortality per annum is 1 in 40½. Half the females live to the age of 48½; their mortality per annum is 1 in 43·7. The combined mortality of both sexes is 1 in 42 per annum very nearly. The maximum expectation of male life is at four years of age; of female life at three. The maximum advantage of female life occurs at the age of 45, when it exceeds that of male life by 20 months; increasing from 12 months at 15 years of age, and decreasing to 12 months at 80 years of age, to equality at 100.

Mr. Rickman has ingeniously availed himself of another use of the distinction of the sexes in the enumerations, by estimating the movement of population from the females only: thus avoiding the difficulty of the deficiency in the burial register of males, owing to the numbers dying abroad, especially in the time of war; and avoiding also the disturbance to the calculation of actually existing persons, from the number of male absentees, whether on account of war or commerce.

In the proportions of the sexes in legitimate and illegitimate births, there is a discrepancy the more remarkable, as it obtains in both the English and French results.

In England, 1830, the male legitimate births (184,053) exceed the female (177,968) 3·41 per cent., whilst the illegitimate male births (10,147) exceed the females (9,892) only 2·57 per cent. This is the result of the comparison of one year; and we have no means of knowing the proportion of illegitimate births in others. But, in the whole number of baptisms of the four censuses, the males (8,835,866) exceed the females (7,987,710) 4.35 per cent., which exhibits the difference still more strongly, and approximates very closely to the proportion observed by the French. For, in a calculation on twelve years—1817 to 1828, the Bureau de Longitude found, that in legitimate births the excess of males was 6.66 per cent., whilst in illegitimate it was only 5 per cent., being a difference of 1.66.* In England, that difference, in a single year, was 0.84; but the difference, when the comparison is made with the proportion in the general births for thirty years, is 1.78. We can only say with M. Guerry, 'La quantité dont cette fraction s'écarte du rapport general n'est pas assez petite, et les nombres observés sont trop grands pour qu'on puisse

* Essai sur la Statistique Morale de la France, par A. M. Guerry, 4to. Paris, 1833, p. 52.

attribuer

attribuer cette difference au hazard;* et quelque singulier que cela paraisse, on est fondé à croire qu'il existe à l'egard des enfans naturels une cause quelconque, qui diminue la preponderance des naissances des garçons sur celles des filles.'

But this is a question of only physiological curiosity. The proportion of illegitimate births to the legitimate involves the first principles of morality, and the very vital interests of society; and the returns present such unexpected results as we cannot pretend to account for; but we shall make a statement of the anomalies in order to excite inquiry: for if the causes of greater incontinence could be traced, there might be some hope of counteracting them.

First, then, with regard to the two larger divisions. It might have been presumed that purity of manners would have prevailed more in the comparatively retired, rural, and thinly-peopled district of Wales, than in England, with all its manufacturing and town population. Yet in England the illegitimate births are only a twenty-first part of the whole number of births; whilst in Wales they are a fourteenth; in Pembrokeshire, a ninth, and in Radnorshire, an eighth; and it is remarkable that, excepting the great cotton-manufacturing county of Lancaster, the only English counties where the proportion of illegitimates equals the average of Wales, are on its borders,—namely, Shropshire and Herefordshire. Again, it is singular, that in one Welsh county, Merionethshire, the proportion (a thirty-fifth) is lower than in any English county except two—and those are Middlesex and Surrey, where the proportion is only one thirty-ninth and a forty-first part. For this latter anomaly Mr. Rickman has suggested an explanation, which may in some degree also account for the others we have noticed:—

'The general opulence (he observes) as well as the density of

sure of the fallacy of that principle, in this and other journals, might have made any notice of it unnecessary. We find, however, that even M. Quetelet, profound and rigid calculator as he is supposed to be, has broached the same doctrine, in citing the words of M. Lacroix,—'Cette grande disproportion (entre les campagnes et les villes) ne peut-elle pas tenir encore à une loi de la nature, qui permet d'autant moins à une population de se multiplier, que le terrain qu'elle couvre est déjà plus peuplé.'* It is somewhat extraordinary that M. Quetelet should have adopted such a principle, or having adopted, that he should not have abjured it, when, in 1832, he stated that Oriental Flanders had 260 inhabitants on 100 bonniers, with 5.19 births to a marriage; and Luxembourgh only 46 inhabitants on 100 bonniers, with only 4.67 births to a marriage.† He had already, also, given the true solution of the greater mortality of cities, which he says, 'ne saurait être attribuée qu'aux suites de l'extrème misère, à la malpropreté, au resserrement des demeures, et à l'insalubrité qui en est la consequence dans les capitales.' And these circumstances do so often accompany a dense population, that M. Muret (the celebrated Swiss statistician) had, in 1766, like Mr. Sadler,‡ in 1829, ventured to generalize on the subject in the form of a maxim,—'que la force de la vie est en raison inverse de la fecondité,' which is just as untenable as Mr. Sadler's,§ though Sir F. D'Ivernois lauds it as a 'principe fondamental.'‖

It has been a matter of complaint, that Mr. Sadler's principle has been oppugned by picked instances; and if it were so, Mr. Sadler could have little right to complain—for no man ever supported an argument more by picked instances. To obviate such an objection, however, we have taken the first ten counties as they occur in alphabetical order, and have tested Mr. Sadler's principle

* Recherches sur la Population, &c. des Pays Bas. p. 28. Bruxelles, 1827; from which date we may appreciate Mr. Sadler's claim to originality in his principle published in 1829.

† Recherches sur la Mortalité, &c. pp. 9 and 27.

‡ Memoires, &c. par la Societé Economique de Berne, 1766.

§ Erreurs concernant les Populations. Geneve, 1833, p. 28.

‖ The comparative fecundity of marriage in various places, where it has been indisputably ascertained, is very remarkable, but does not tend to corroborate Mr. Sadler's theory. In England it cannot have been less, during the last ten years, than 4.41 to each marriage (Mr. Rickman's Preface, p. 45). In Belgium the average is 4.71 (Quetelet, Recherches, p. 26); and we may presume that in the north of France it cannot be dissimilar. To the more southern parts, therefore, must be ascribed the defalcation in France generally, from an average of 4·22 in 1817, to 3·64 in 1829. (See the work of M. Corbaux, p. 165.) And when we arrive at Geneva, the difference is astounding; the average (according to Sir F. D'Ivernois' statement to the representative council in May last) being only 2·75—a result which Sir F. D'Ivernois attributes to 'le secret pour servir la population *stationnaire*'—

Quærere distuli,
Nec scire fas est omnia.

by

by comparing their respective areas, population on a square mile, and numbers of births to marriages; and here follows the result:—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Error per Cent.
[illegible]	[illegible]	::	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	[illegible]	21·40
[illegible]	[illegible]	::	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	3·93	12·97
[illegible]	[illegible]	::	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	3·93	21·88
[illegible]	[illegible]	::	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	3·44	71·14
[illegible]	[illegible]	::	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	[illegible]	14·37
[illegible]	[illegible]	::	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	[illegible]	43·60
[illegible]	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	3·72	61·03
[illegible]	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	3·73	15·99
[illegible]	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	:	[illegible]	[illegible]	9·43

[redacted]

ART. IV.—*Specimens of the Table-Talk of S. T. Coleridge.* London, 1835. 2 vols. 12mo.

THE editor of Spence's Anecdotes says in his preface, 'The French abound in collections of this nature, which they have distinguished with the name of *Ana*. England has produced few examples of the kind, but they are eminently excellent. It may be sufficient to name Selden's Table-Talk, and Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson.' These Anecdotes of Spence, after having, while in MS., furnished much amusement and instruction to the literary antiquaries of the last generation, took their place at once, on being published *in extenso*, among the most valuable parlour-window books in this or in any other language. That volume, rich in the fire-side gossip of Pope, Swift, and Bolingbroke, may be said to bring us down almost to the commencement of Johnson's reign as the great master and retailer of literary anecdotes and reminiscences. In its perusal we feel ourselves at home with the members of the Scriblerus Club, and are even carried back, by their unstudied communications among themselves, to a personal familiarity with the worthies of the preceding cycle. To this source we owe more than half of the little that we do know of the personal manners of both Milton and Dryden. Of Boswell we need say nothing, except that his book, in many other respects unrivalled, has this great and almost entirely peculiar advantage, that it presents its talkers, in the strict sense of the word, *dramatically*. Every saying is rendered doubly interesting by our knowledge of the time, the place, the occasion, and of the person or persons addressed. In almost every other point of view as unlike Dr. Johnson as one man of great faculties and great virtues can be to another, Mr. Coleridge must be allowed to have been his legitimate successor as the great literary talker of England. Had he been fortunate enough to find a faithful chronicler twenty or thirty years ago, we have no doubt the ultimate record of his conversational wisdom and ingenuity would have occupied many goodly volumes well worthy of fully sharing in the popularity of Boswell. As it is, we have much reason to be thankful that, during the last four or five years of his life, a young and affectionate kinsman, possessing the learning, the taste, and the feeling which qualified him to understand and appreciate his rich talk, happened to reside in his immediate neighbourhood, and kept a journal in which he commonly set down, before going to bed, what fragments he had been able to carry away.

It will be the natural wish of every reader that Mr. Henry Coleridge had at least tried to give more of a dramatic shape to his

be supposed to have some feeling and comprehension, but to harangue them (as he often did) on topics and in a style which must to them have been alike heathen Greek, the effect was at once so quaintly ludicrous and so gently amiable, that we cannot but wish some specimens of it had been preserved, as far as such things ever can be preserved by a mere record of words. The parties addressed, however incapable of fully understanding his drift, were always cheered and delighted with the evident kindliness of his whole spirit and intentions—while 'he held them with his glittering eye,' the cordial childlike innocence of his smile, the inexpressible sweetness of his voice, and the rich musical flow into which his mere language ever threw itself, were subsidiary charms that told even upon the dullest and the coldest. Had it been possible that such a man should ever have taken up the trade of a demagogue, either in the pulpit or on the hustings, what power must have been his! The more unintelligible his strain, the greater of course, so the watchwords were skilfully chosen, would have been its potency.

Those who are acquainted in general with what the course of Mr. Coleridge's personal history had been, and who are told *in limine* that the present work is made up of the confidential conversation of the sick-room in which he so lately breathed his last, but who never happened to meet with the man himself, will perhaps be agreeably surprised when they find that it contains no trace of murmuring, in as far as his own fortunes in the world were concerned. Upon the great political events of the few last years he indeed expresses himself occasionally—as what man of understanding and honesty has not been often heard to do?—in the language of regret and mournful anticipation. Once or twice, perhaps, he has allowed some fling of virtuous indignation to escape him with regard to the immediate actors in these miserable doings. But, with these exceptions, the whole book is radiant with the habitual benignity, charity, and hopefulness of the man; and indeed, even as to the excepted topics, he had so accustomed himself to trace external events to *remote* causes, and to rely on that Power which *can* and *will* bring good out of evil, that his general tone of feeling, as to the apparently guiltiest of our political culprits, was that of compassion; and that we much doubt if he ever seriously did believe that the Constitution of England had been irretrievably undone.

The equanimity with which this record shows Mr. Coleridge to have looked back upon a life which any worldly person must have called eminently unfortunate, will not, as we have intimated, surprise any one who had the honour and privilege of his acquaintance. He was, in the first place, well aware that the main

 source

source of all his external mishaps was in himself—and this indeed he has plainly told us in one of the most interesting pages of his *Autobiographia Literaria*—a work which, however absurdly so named, as it is any thing rather than a narrative of the incidents of his own career, does nevertheless deserve to be reprinted, not only on many other accounts, but for the vivid glimpses which it affords us of his intellectual habitudes, and the prevalent moods of his mind.

'NEVER,' says the autobiographer, 'PURSUE LITERATURE AS A TRADE. With the exception of one extraordinary man, I have never known an individual, least of all an individual of genius, healthy or happy without a *profession*, *i. e.*, some *regular* employment, which does not depend on the will of the moment, and which can be carried on so far *mechanically*, that an average quantum only of health, spirits, and intellectual exertion are requisite to its faithful discharge. Three hours of leisure, unannoyed by any alien anxiety, and looked forward to with delight as a change and recreation, will suffice to realize in literature a larger product of what is truly *genial*, than weeks of compulsion. Money and immediate reputation form only an arbitrary and accidental end of literary labour. The *hope* of increasing them by any given exertion will often prove a stimulant to industry; but the *necessity* of acquiring them will in all works of genius convert the stimulant into a *narcotic*. Motives by excess reverse their very nature, and instead of exciting, stun and stupify the mind.'—vol. i. p. 223.

And again:

'It would be a sort of irreligion, and scarcely less than a libel on human nature, to believe that there is any established and reputable profession or employment, in which a man may not contrive to act with honesty and honour; and doubtless there is likewise none which may not at times present temptations to the contrary. But

without some bearing on the various critical, historical, philosophical, and moral truths, in which the scholar must be interested as a clergyman: no one pursuit worthy of a man of genius which may not be followed without incongruity.' No doubt the motives that withheld the learned and devout churchman, who thus thought, from the service of the altar, must have been powerful—as little that they were honourable to his feelings; but who can cease to regret that Coleridge's life was not cast into the same happy course as that of Crabbe or Bowles? After all, if there was not, there assuredly ought to have been, some means of adequately providing for such a man, after his name and character were fixed and determined, either in some great metropolitan institution, or within the walls of one or other of our universities. If ever those magnificent national establishments are reformed to any good or real purpose, it will be from within, by the act of their own proper authorities; and we feel assured that, in any plan of internal reform likely to proceed from the eminent persons who at present guide their counsels, a leading feature would be that of providing a greater number of stations in which men who have really distinguished themselves in science or literature might find honourable retirement and shelter for the evening of their days. We well know that Cambridge was proud of her Coleridge: he was almost worshipped there among both young and old;—his last visit, in particular, called forth a display of feeling which can never cease to be remembered, to their honour, by all who witnessed the scene.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Coleridge himself did not complain, we may spare ourselves the pain of any further comments on the dark and melancholy circumstances in which this great light of his time and country, this beautiful poet, this exquisite metaphysician, this universal scholar, and profound theologian, was permitted to pass so many years of his life. We shall not even be tempted to go beyond a mere allusion to the fact, that the only reduction of the pension list, which the late Whig government ventured upon, was one which deprived ten meritorious men of letters, with Coleridge at their head, of a pittance of 100*l.* per annum, which had been accorded to them by King George IV.—the one reduction, we verily believe, which could not have been demanded or approved of by a single tax-payer of these kingdoms, whig, tory, or radical. Hear the dying poet's own comment on this and all other such mischances:—

'COMPLAINT.

'How seldom, friend, a good great man inherits
Honour or wealth with all his worth and pains!
It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,
If any man obtain that which he merits,
Or any merit that which he obtains.

Resolve.

[illegible] this canting strain!
[illegible] good great man obtain?
[illegible]
[illegible] fair sound?
[illegible] means, but ends!
[illegible]
[illegible] treasures, Love, and Light,
[illegible] death.—
[illegible] day and night.
[illegible] death.

[illegible] was a humble spirit, and he, [illegible] his belief—whether [illegible] some doubts—that he in- [illegible] literary distinctions, but [illegible] literary popularity, from the [illegible] We suspect that he might [illegible] himself on both of these heads [illegible] contemporaries, than to one at least [illegible] in a chapter of his [illegible] he thus says:

[illegible] we can judge from their [illegible] contemporaries, appear to [illegible] that related to them- [illegible] eminent fame, they seem to [illegible] with regard to immediate [illegible] there reigns a cheer- [illegible] impossible to doubt a [illegible] of feeling in the author himself. Shakspeare's [illegible] of humor were almost proverbial in his own

and, in comparison with his three great compeers, I had almost said, *effeminate;* and this additionally saddened by the unjust persecution of Burleigh, and the severe calamities which overwhelmed his latter days. These causes have diffused over all his compositions "a melancholy grace," and have drawn forth occasional strains, the more pathetic from their gentleness. But no where do we find the least trace of irritability, and still less of quarrelsome or affected contempt of his censurers. The same calmness, and even greater self-possession, may be affirmed of Milton, as far as his poems and poetic character are concerned. He reserved his anger for the enemies of religion, freedom, and his country. My mind is not capable of forming a more august conception, than arises from the contemplation of this great man in his latter days: poor, sick, old, blind, slandered, persecuted,

"Darkness before, and danger's voice behind,"—

in an age in which he was as little understood by the party *for* whom, as by that *against* whom he had contended; and among men before whom he strode so far as to *dwarf* himself by the distance; yet still listening to the music of his own thoughts, or if additionally cheered, yet cheered only by the prophetic faith of two or three solitary individuals, he did nevertheless

"Argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bore up and steer'd
Right onward."'—*Autobiographia*, vol. i. pp. 32-35.

As we shall not be so superfluous as to attempt any orderly arrangement in an article on *table-talk*, we may as well quote here what Coleridge said, across the fire, nearly twenty years later, on the characteristics of Chaucer and Shakspeare:—

'I take unceasing delight in Chaucer. His manly cheerfulness is especially delicious to me in my old age. How exquisitely tender he is, and yet how perfectly free from the least touch of sickly melancholy or morbid drooping! The sympathy of the poet with the subjects of his poetry is particularly remarkable in Shakspeare and Chaucer; but what the first effects by a strong act of imagination and mental metamorphosis, the last does without any effort, merely by the inborn kindly joyousness of his nature. How well we seem to know Chaucer! How absolutely nothing do we know of Shakspeare!'—*Table-Talk, March* 15, 1834.

We cannot read the numerous fragments of delicious criticism on Shakspeare which are scattered over these volumes, as well as the Autobiographia, without remembering with sorrow that Coleridge's Lectures on Shakspeare, delivered before Schlegel's, and in the opinion of those who heard them at least as good as the enlightened German's, have never been collected and printed. Are they hopelessly lost? We know that one friend and admirer of our poet employed, with his consent, a skilful short-hand writer to

to take notes of the whole course, and imperfect as these must no doubt have been, still they could scarcely fail to furnish most valuable materials for an editor such as H. N. Coleridge. We are sure Mr Frere would be happy to place the MS., if now in his possession, at the disposal of one so well qualified to use it for the honour of the deceased, and the instruction of the world. But let us return to our extracts.

I cannot by the least allow any necessity for Chaucer's poetry, especially the "Canterbury Tales," being considered obsolete. Let a few plain rules be given for sounding the final *è* of syllables, and for expressing the termination of such words as *oceān*, *nationē*, &c. as dissyllables, or let the syllables to be sounded in such cases be marked by an important mark. This simple expedient would, with a very few trifling exceptions, where the errors are inveterate, enable any reader to feel the perfect smoothness and harmony of Chaucer's verse. As to understanding his language,—if you read twenty pages with a good glossary, you surely can find no further difficulty even as to words; but I should have no objection to see this done:—strike out those words which are now obsolete, and I will venture to say that I will replace every one of them by words still in use out of Chaucer himself, or Gower his disciple. I do not want this myself; I rather like to see the significant terms which Chaucer unsuccessfully offered as candidates for admission into our language,—but surely so very slight a change of the text may well be pardoned even by black-letter antiquarians for the purpose of restoring so great a poet to his ancient and most deserved popularity.'*—*Table-Talk*, *April*, 1833.

Something like what Mr. Coleridge here recommends for the popularization of this great old poet has just been attempted by Mr. Charles Cowden Clarke, in a couple of small volumes, entitled 'The Riches of Chaucer;' and notwithstanding this affected title

and a preface in which we find the venerable Cockney school revived in all its glory, the editor appears to have acquitted himself of his task as regards the text of Chaucer, and the selection of glossarial notes, with considerable tact. Would that some really ripe and good scholar would undertake an annotated edition of the whole of Chaucer. We have no even tolerable edition of any of his writings except the Canterbury Tales; and great as Tyrwhitt was in more departments than one, much progress has been made in all of them since he wrote, and in none of them more than in the illustration of the old English tongue, especially by bringing to bear upon its obsolete forms the living commentary of comparatively unmixed Teutonic dialects. On the structure and varieties of his mother tongue we have never perhaps had a more admirable critic than has been lost to us in Mr. Coleridge.

To proceed with our *Ana*:—

'It may be doubted whether a composite language like the English is not a happier instrument of expression than a homogeneous one like the German. We possess a wonderful richness and variety of modified meanings in our Saxon and Latin quasi-synonymes, which the Germans have not. For "the pomp and *prodigality* of heaven," the Germans must have said "*the spendthriftness*." Shakspeare is particularly happy in his use of the Latin synonymes, and in distinguishing between them and the Saxon.'

—We wish Mr. Coleridge had worked out this last idea. We think it quite just; and feel, to give but one example, how admirably the bare simple strength of Saxon monosyllables is made to contrast with and heighten the effect of the most gorgeous Latin *sesquipedalia* in

> 'The multitudinous sea incarnadine,
> Making the green one red.'

Again he says:—

'Shakspeare is of no age. It is idle to endeavour to support his phrases by quotations from Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, &c. His language is entirely his own, and the younger dramatists imitated him. The construction of Shakspeare's sentences, whether in verse or prose, is the necessary and homogeneous vehicle of his peculiar manner of thinking. His is not the style of the age. More particularly, Shakspeare's blank verse is an absolutely new creation. Read Daniel,—the admirable Daniel,—in his "Civil Wars," and "Triumphs of Hymen." The style and language are just such as any very pure and manly writer of the present day—Wordsworth, for example—would use; it seems quite modern in comparison with the style of Shakspeare. Ben Jonson's blank-verse is very masterly and individual, and perhaps Massinger's is even still nobler. In Beaumont and Fletcher it is constantly slipping into lyricisms.

'I believe Shakspeare was not a whit more intelligible in his own day

[illegible] to an educated man, except for a few local allusions [illegible] As I said, he is of no age,—nor, I may add, of [illegible] profession. The body and substance of his [illegible] of his own oceanic mind; [illegible] was considerable, supplied him [illegible] August 19, 1832.

What [illegible] our table-talker; 'how ab- [illegible] Shakspeare.' He is indeed the [illegible] there is hardly a poetaster [illegible] more than of the greatest [illegible] world produced; and he lived [illegible] the brightest galaxy of wits, [illegible] adorned any period of [illegible] the same streets with the [illegible] his eternal dramas were acted [illegible] sovereigns that ever sat on [illegible] was without a doubt the most [illegible] time—and yet there is not [illegible] those of his contempora- [illegible] with the single exception [illegible] of the same private [illegible] well-known disparaging [illegible] general but vague tradi- [illegible] these are absolutely the only [illegible] Shakspeare as he personally moved among [illegible] London of Elizabeth and [illegible] conversation—not one scrap [illegible] been thought worthy of pre- [illegible] was the weak and credulous

ceding extract is only one of many among those extraordinary and mysterious pieces that may be referred to as utterly destructive of that theory. Nor could he, who at an early period of his career so estimated himself, be unconscious of the prodigious extent to which his genius had expanded and strengthened as its exercise advanced. He could not look back from Macbeth, Lear, Othello, to his juvenile poems, his sonnets, his Love's Labour's Lost, Two Gentlemen of Verona, and so forth, without a thorough consciousness that his had been always a growing mind. But then comes the grand puzzle of all. It seems to have been pretty well ascertained by Chalmers that Othello, which we agree with Mr. Coleridge in considering as the very highest triumph of his dramatic art, was also its last effort: that he produced it in 1611, at the age of *forty-seven*, and that immediately afterwards he withdrew from the stage, from literature, from London, we had almost said from the world, contented to linger on the remaining five years of his life in his native village, *oblitusque suorum obliviscendus et illis*—never once dreaming even of an edition of his works; nay, leaving many of the best of them to be printed for the first time seven years after his death. We can only account for this by the presumption that, great as Shakspeare was, and felt himself to be, he had in his mind an ideal of art far above what he supposed himself ever to have approached in his own best dramas. How surely is Modesty the twin-grace with Daring in the structure and development of every truly great mind and character!

We may take this opportunity, though somewhat irregularly, of noticing a strange little volume which lately issued from the press, entitled 'Citation and Examination of Wm. Shakspeare, &c. before the worshipful Sir Thomas Lucy, Knight, touching Deer Stealing, 19th Sept. 1582, now first published from original papers: to which is added a Conference of Master Edmund Spenser with the Earl of Essex, touching the State of Ireland.' This performance is, as every reader will soon discover, from the pen of Mr. Landor,—and, like almost every other work of that pen, it presents a perplexing mixture of the quaint and the beautiful in its language, of the absurd and the profound in its meaning. The *Citation and Examination of Shakspeare* does not on the whole appear to us worthy of being classed with the best of Mr. Landor's efforts, though nothing can be more exquisite than some detached passages in the course of the dialogue. The *Conference* between Essex and Spenser, again, seems to us an almost unrivalled specimen of Mr. Landor's purest and happiest vein,—that peculiar power of interweaving satire and pathos which forms the inimitable charm of many of his Imaginary Conversations. We propose

mainder of the day; during the whole of it he appeared to be half lost, I know not whether in melancholy or in meditation, and soon left us.'—*Citation*, &c. pp. 278-281.

We have really very little doubt that this scene is such an one as might have occurred after Shakspeare had written half his tragedies. Mr. Landor adds, in the capacity of editor, the following very characteristic note:—

'He has been amused, in his earlier days, at watching the first appearance of such few books as he believed to be the production of some powerful intellect. He has seen people slowly rise up to them, like carp in a pond when food is thrown among them; some of which carp snatch suddenly at a morsel, and swallow it; others touch it gently with their barbe, pass deliberately by, and leave it; others wriggle and rub against it more disdainfully; others, in sober truth, know not what to make of it, swim round and round it, eye it on the sunny side, eye it on the shady; approach it, question it, shoulder it, flap it with the tail, turn it over, look askance at it, take a pea-shell or a worm instead of it, and plunge again their contented heads into the comfortable mud; after some seasons the same food will suit their stomachs better. The Editor has seen all this, and been an actor in it, whether at Chantilly or Fontainebleau is indifferent to the reader; and it has occurred to him that Shakspeare and Spenser were thrown among such carp, and began to be relished (the worst, of course, first) after many years.'—*Ibid.* pp. 250, 251.

We must indulge ourselves with a few more of Coleridge's *Shakspeariana.* We have seldom met with more profound truth, conveyed in the simplest language, than in the first of these sentences:—

'Men of humour are always in some degree men of genius; wits are rarely so, although a man of genius may, amongst other gifts, possess wit, as Shakspeare.'

Consider, along with this high estimation of *humour*, our poet's judgment elsewhere as to the talent of *mimicry.*

'The talent for mimicry seems strongest where the human race are most degraded. The poor, naked, half-human savages of New Holland were found excellent mimics; and in civilized society, minds of the very lowest stamp alone satirize by *copying.*'—*Autobiog. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 79.

The reader of the next paragraph will feel how true is the remark that it requires a poet to criticise poetry.

'In Shakspeare one sentence begets the next naturally; the meaning is all inwoven. He goes on kindling like a meteor through the dark atmosphere; yet when the creation in its outline is once perfect, then he seems to rest from his labour, and to smile upon his work and tell himself that it is very good. You see many scenes and parts of scenes which are simply Shakspeare's disporting himself in joyous triumph

triumph and vigorous fun after a great achievement of his highest genius.'—*Table-Talk*, 1833.

'Remark the use which Shakspeare always makes of his bold villains, as vehicles for expressing opinions and conjectures of a nature too hazardous for a wise man to put forth directly as his own, or from any sustained character.'—*Ibid.*

On Shakspeare's villains there is, by the way, a subtle passage in the *Autobiographia*, which we must place in juxtaposition with this fragment of the *Table-Talk.*

'"We shall be as gods in knowledge," was and must have been the *first* temptation; and the co-existence of great intellectual lordship with guilt has never been adequately represented without exciting the strongest interest, and for this reason, that *in this bad and heterogeneous co-ordination we can contemplate the intellect of man more exclusively as a separate self-subsistence, than in its proper state of subordination to his own conscience, or to the will of an infinitely superior being.* This is the secret charm of Shakspeare's male characters in general. They are all cast in the mould of Shakspeare's own gigantic intellect; and this is the open attraction of his Richard, Iago, Edmund, &c. in particular.'—vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.

It is curious that, after all, the very worst of Shakspeare's villains (we do not speak of his ruffians) is his last, Iago. It is in the same piece, too, that he has given us the most dignified of his lovely women, and the most essentially generous and ideally chivalrous of all his heroes. Well may Coleridge say,—

'I still think the chronological order the best for arranging a poet's works. All your divisions are in particular instances inadequate, and they destroy the interest which arises from watching the progress, maturity, and even the decay of genius.'—*Table-Talk, March*, 1834.

We shall now put together a few of his *obiter dicta* on general literature. Coleridge could sometimes be a stern, and even cruel critic, (for example, witness the case of poor Maturin,) and he had some early prejudices which warped his judgment as to one or two of our own best and greatest poets, especially Pope; but, with rare exceptions, he brought to the consideration of literary works, whether old or new, not only great shrewdness and subtlety of thought and observation, but a most genial and generous tone of feeling.

Don Quixote.

'When a man mistakes his thoughts for persons and things, he is mad. A madman is properly so defined.' Don Quixote is not a man out of his senses, but a man in whom the imagination and the pure reason are so powerful as to make him disregard the evidence of sense when it opposed their conclusions. Sancho is the common sense of the social man-animal, unenlightened and unsanctified by the reason. You see how he reverences his master at the very time he is cheating him.'

Dryden.

'You will find this a good gauge or criterion of genius, whether it progresses and evolves, or only spins upon itself. Take Dryden's Achitophel and Zimri—Shaftesbury and Buckingham; every line adds to or modifies the character, which is, as it were, a building up to the very last verse;—whereas in Pope's Timon, &c., the first two or three couplets contain all the pith of the character, and the twenty or thirty lines that follow are so much evidence or proof of overt acts of jealousy, or pride, or whatever it may be, that is satirized. In like manner compare Charles Lamb's exquisite criticisms on Shakspeare with Hazlitt's imitations of them.'

'Dryden's genius was of that sort which catches fire by its own motion; his chariot wheels get hot by driving fast.'

Fielding.

'How charming—how wholesome—Fielding always is! To take him up after Richardson is like emerging from a sick-room heated by stoves into an open lawn, on a breezy day in May.'

Johnson.

'Dr. Johnson seems to have been really more powerful in discoursing, *viva voce*, in conversation than with his pen in hand. It seems as if the excitement of company called something like reality and consecutiveness into his reasonings, which in his writings I cannot see. His antitheses are almost always verbal only; and sentence after sentence in "The Rambler" may be pointed out, to which you cannot attach any definite meaning whatever. In his political pamphlets there is more truth of expression than in his other works, for the same reason that his conversation is better than his writings in general.'

Schiller.

'The young men in Germany and England who admire Lord Byron, prefer

the poets of the present day: by Lord Byron, it strikes me, in particular, among those eminent for other qualities.

'Upon the whole, I think the part of *Don Juan*, in which Lambro's return to his home, and Lambro himself, are described, is the best—that is, the most individual thing in all I know of Lord B.'s works. The festal abandonment puts one in mind of Nicolas Poussin's pictures.'—*7th June*, 1834.

Basil Hall.

'The possible destiny of the United States of America,—as a nation of a hundred millions of freemen,—stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakspeare and Milton,—is an august conception. Why should we not wish to see it realized? America would then be England viewed through a solar microscope,—Great Britain in a state of glorious magnification! How deeply to be lamented is the spirit of hostility and sneering which some of the popular books of travels have shown in treating of the Americans! They hate us, no doubt, just as brothers hate; but they respect the opinion of an Englishman concerning themselves ten times as much as that of a native of any other country on earth. A very little humouring of their prejudices, and some courtesy of language and demeanour on the part of Englishmen, would work wonders, even as it is, with the public mind of the Americans.

'Captain Basil Hall's book is certainly very entertaining and instructive; but in my judgment his sentiments upon many points, and more especially his mode of expression, are unwise and uncharitable. After all, are not most of the things shown up with so much bitterness by him mere national foibles, parallels to which every people has, and must of necessity have?'

Marryatt.

'I have received a great deal of pleasure from some of the modern novels, especially Captain Marryatt's "Peter Simple." That book is nearer Smollet than anything I remember. And "Tom Cringle's Log," in Blackwood, is also most excellent.'

Our readers will expect a few specimens of the Table-Talk on ancient literature. Here are a few—the shortest we could hit upon—and some of the best:—

'The old Latin poets attempted to compound as largely as the Greek; hence in Ennius such words as belligerentes, &c. In nothing did Virgil show his judgment more than in rejecting these, except just where common usage had sanctioned them, as omnipotens and a few more. He saw that the Latin was too far advanced in its formation, and of too rigid a character to admit such composition or agglutination. In this particular respect Virgil's Latin is very admirable and deserving preference. Compare it with the language of Lucan or Statius, and count the number of words used in an equal number of lines, and observe how many more short words Virgil has.'

'I cannot

'I cannot quite understand the grounds of the high admiration which the ancients expressed for Propertius, and I own that Tibullus is rather insipid to me. Lucan was a man of great powers; but what was to be made of such a shapeless fragment of party warfare, and so recent too! He had fancy rather than imagination, and passion rather than fancy. His taste was wretched to be sure; still the "Pharsalia" is in my judgment a very wonderful work for such a youth as Lucan was.'

'I think Statius a truer poet than Lucan, though he is very extravagant sometimes. Valerius Flaccus is very pretty in particular passages. I am ashamed to say I have never read Silius Italicus. Claudian I recommend to your careful perusal, in respect of his being properly the first of the moderns, or at least the transitional link between the Classic and the Gothic modes of thought.'

'I call Persius hard, not obscure. He had a bad style; but I dare say, if he had lived, he would have learned to express himself in easier language. There are many passages in him of exquisite felicity, and his version of thought is manly and pathetic.'

[illegible] I consider the two works of Sallust which have come down to us entire as romances founded on facts; no adequate motives are stated, and there is no real continuity of action. In Thucydides, you are aware from the beginning that you are reading the reflections of a man of great genius and experience upon the character and operation of the two great political principles in conflict in the world in his time; his narrative of events is of minor importance, and it is evident that he selects for the purpose of illustration. It is Thucydides himself whom you read throughout under the name of Pericles, Nicias, &c. But in Herodotus it is just the [illegible] He has as little subjectivity as Homer, and, delighting in the [illegible] of great events, he narrates them without impressing any [illegible] of his own mind upon the narrative. It is the charm of Herodotus that he gives you the spirit of his age—that of Thucydides that

which always struck me as exquisitely rich and finished,—I mean where the chorus speaks of Troy and the night of the capture.

'There is nothing very surprising in Milton's preference of Euripides, though so unlike himself. It is very common—very natural—for men to *like*, and even admire, an exhibition of power very different in kind from anything of their own. No jealousy arises. Milton preferred Ovid, too; and I dare say he admired both, as a man of sensibility admires a lovely woman, with a feeling into which jealousy or envy cannot enter. With Æschylus or Sophocles he might perchance have matched himself.

'In Euripides you have oftentimes a very near approach to comedy, and I hardly know any writer in whom you can find such fine models of serious and dignified conversation.'

We now proceed to extract some half-dozen of Coleridge's remarks on subjects connected with the actual business of life—men and manners in general:—

I.

'A philosopher's ordinary language and admissions in general conversation or writings, *ad populum*, are as his watch compared with his astronomical timepiece. He sets the former by the town-clock, not because he believes it right, but because his neighbours and his cook go by it.'

II.

'Men of genius are rarely much annoyed by the company of vulgar people, because they have a power of looking *at* such persons as objects of amusement, of another race altogether.'

III.

'If a man is not rising upwards to be an angel, depend upon it he is sinking downwards to be a devil. He cannot stop at the beast. The most savage of men are not beasts; they are worse, a great deal worse.'

IV.

'One mistake perpetually made by one of our unhappy parties—and with a pernicious tendency to Antinomianism—is to confound sin with sins. To tell a modest girl, the watchful nurse of an aged parent, that she is full of *sins* against God is monstrous, and as shocking to reason as it is unwarrantable by Scripture. But to tell her that she and all men and women are of a sinful nature, and that, without Christ's redeeming love and God's grace, she cannot be emancipated from its dominion, is true and proper.'

V.

'How deep a wound to morals and social purity has that accursed article of the celibacy of the clergy been! Even the best and most enlightened men in Romanist countries attach a notion of impurity to the marriage of a clergyman; and can such a feeling be without its effect on the estimation of the wedded life in general? Impossible!—and the morals of both sexes in Spain, Italy, France, &c., prove it abundantly.'

VI. 'To

all the other way; the individual is supposed capable of nothing; there must be organization, classification, machinery, &c., as if the capital of national morality could be increased by making a joint stock of it. Hence you see these infant schools so patronised by the bishops and others, who think them a grand invention. Is it found that an infant-school child, who has been bawling all day a column of the multiplication-table, or a verse from the Bible, grows up a more dutiful son or daughter to its parents? Are domestic charities on the increase amongst families under this system? In a great town, in our present state of society, perhaps such schools may be a justifiable expedient and choice of the lesser evil—but as for driving these establishments into the country villages, and breaking up the cottage home education, I think it one of the most miserable mistakes which the well-intentioned people of the day have yet made.'

Malthusianism.

'*August* 12, 1832.—Is it not lamentable—is it not even marvellous—that the monstrous practical sophism of Malthus should now have gotten complete possession of the leading men of the kingdom? Such an essential lie in morals—such a practical lie, in fact, as it is too! I solemnly declare that I do not believe that all the heresies, and sects, and factions, which the ignorance, and the weakness, and the wickedness of man have ever given birth to, were altogether so disgraceful to man as a Christian, a philosopher, a statesman, or citizen, as this abominable tenet. It should be exposed by reasoning in the form of ridicule. Asgill or Swift would have done much; but, like the popish doctrines, it is so vicious a tenet, so flattering to the cruelty, the avarice, and sordid selfishness of most men, that I hardly know what to think of the result.'

Negro Emancipation.

'It is very strange that men who make light of the direct doctrines of the Scriptures, and turn up their noses at the recommendation of a line of conduct suggested by religious truth, will nevertheless stake the tranquillity of an empire, the lives and properties of millions of men and women, on the faith of a maxim of modern political economy! And this, too, of a maxim true only, if at all, of England or a part of England, or of some other country—namely, that the desire of bettering their condition will induce men to labour even more abundantly and profitably than servile compulsion,—to which maxim the past history and present state of all Asia and Africa give the lie. Nay, even in England at this day, every man in Manchester, Birmingham, and in other great manufacturing towns, knows that the most skilful artisans, who may earn high wages at pleasure, are constantly in the habit of working but a few days in the week, and of idling the rest. I believe Saint Monday is very well kept by the workmen in London. I think tailors will not work at all on that day, the printers not till the afternoon, and so on. The love of indolence is universal, or next to it.'

Colonization.

May 4, 1833. Colonization is not only a manifest experiment, but [illegible] duty in Great Britain. God seems to hold out his finger [illegible] But it must be a national colonization, such as [illegible] to America; a colonization of hope, and not [illegible] have alone encouraged and effected for the last fifty years, [illegible] cheapen.

Machinery.

[illegible] powers of machinery can, by multiplied production, [illegible] *make* life cheaper, but they cannot cheapen, except [illegible] degree, the immediate growths of nature, or the im- [illegible] man. A coat and a pair of shoes are as dear [illegible] perhaps dearer, and no discoveries in ma- [illegible] alter the relative price of beef and mutton. [illegible] are sought by the higher classes of society in a [illegible] beyond that in which they are sought by the [illegible] and therefore it is that the vast increase of mechanical [illegible] spread life and pleasure to the poor as it has done [illegible] respects, no doubt, it has done so,—as in giving [illegible] diversions to maid-servants, and penny gin to all. A [illegible]

National Debt.

[illegible] to this country taken at large from the national [illegible] plain and practical answer to that question. [illegible] pay the interest, how can the country suffer by a [illegible] which the money is never one minute out of the pockets [illegible] You may just as well say that a man is weakened by [illegible] his blood. There may, certainly, be particular local [illegible] resulting from the mode of taxation or collection; [illegible] that debt be in any proper sense a burden to the nation, [illegible] to itself, and to no one but itself? It is a jugg[illegible]

Landlords.

'When shall we return to a sound conception of the right to property—namely, as being *official*, implying and demanding the performance of commensurate duties? Nothing but the most horrible perversion of humanity and moral justice, under the specious name of political economy, could have blinded men to this truth as to the possession of land, the law of God having connected indissolubly the cultivation of every rood of earth with the maintenance and watchful labour of man. But money, stock, riches by credit, transferable and convertible at will, are under no such obligations; and, unhappily, it is from the selfish autocratic possession of *such* property, that our land-holders have learnt their present theory of trading with that which was never meant to be an object of commerce.'

Coronation Oath.

'*March* 12, 1833.—Lord Grey has in Parliament said two things: first, that the coronation oaths only bind the king in his executive capacity; and secondly, that members of the House of Commons are bound to represent in their votes the wishes and opinions of their constituents, and not their own. Put these two together, and tell me what useful part of the constitutional monarchy of England remains. It is clear that the coronation oaths would be no better than Highgate oaths. For in his executive capacity the king *cannot* do anything, against the doing of which the oaths bind him; it is *only* in his legislative character that he possesses a free agency capable of being bound. The nation meant to bind *that*.'

Principle and Expediency.

'*March*, 1834.—Oh, for a great man—but one really great man,—who could feel the weight and the power of a principle, and unflinchingly put it into act! See how triumphant in debate and in action O'Connell is! Why? Because he asserts a broad principle and acts up to it, rests all his body on it, and has faith in it. Our ministers—true Whigs in that—have faith in nothing but expedients, *de die in diem*. Indeed, what principles of government can *they* have, who in the space of a month recanted a life of political opinions, and now dare to threaten this and that innovation at the huzza of a mob, or in pique at a parliamentary defeat?'

Patronage of the Crown.

'*Feb.* 20, 1833.—I was just now reading Sir John Cam Hobhouse's answer to Mr. Hume or some other of that set, upon the point of transferring the patronage of the army and navy from the crown to the House of Commons. I think, if I had been in the House of Commons, I would have said, "that ten or fifteen years ago I should have considered Sir J. C. H.'s speech quite unanswerable, it being clear constitutional law that the House of Commons has not, nor ought to have, any share directly or indirectly in the appointment of the officers of the army or navy. But now that the king had been reduced by the means and procurement of the honourable baronet and his friends to a puppet, which, so far from having any independent will of its own,

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prospects, by a wise, learned, and patriotic man, who looked earnestly at the busy world from 'his loophole of retreat,' and whose opinions may not perhaps be the less worthy of consideration because they were not influenced by the crowded and therefore, in too many cases, fanatical atmosphere of clubs and meetings. They agree very much with the general results of our own observation and reflection. Yet we cannot permit ourselves to give up for lost a cause in defence of which some of the best and greatest of our countrymen have once more undertaken to assume the responsibility of office. The symptoms of a re-action among that class of the community in whom the main and ultimate direction of public affairs is now *de facto* vested, may have been unconsciously exaggerated on this occasion—but that such a re-action has been for some time going on, and is still in progress, there can be no doubt in any sincere mind; and based, as it must necessarily have been in its origin, not on passion but reflection, that it should not continue more and more to develope itself we can hardly prevail on ourselves to think at all probable. Had Mr. Coleridge been alive *now*, we are inclined to believe he could not have failed to admit that there had opened upon us some glimpses at least of a better destiny than he ventured to anticipate in March and April last,

'When death was with him dealing.'

We ourselves happened to have several long conversations with him on these momentous subjects, not many months before his illness confined him to his chamber; and then, in the open air, walking by the sea-side, his tone of prediction was undoubtedly more hopeful than the reader of his sick-bed *Talk* might be likely to conjecture. We think it right to record that he more than once expressed his belief that, under the circumstances in which the Reform Bill had placed the country, there was much more likelihood of good than of evil results from extending still further the electoral suffrage. The great mischief, he always said, had been placing too much power in one particular class of the population—the class above and below which attachment to our old institutions in Church and State is most prevalent.

Art. V.—1. *Topography of Thebes and General View of Egypt.* By I. G. Wilkinson, Esq. London. 1835.

2. *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, disegnati dalla Spedizione Scientifico-Literaria Toscana in Egitto.* Dal Dottore Ippolito Rosellini. Pisa. Vols. i. iii. 1832-4.

3. *Lettres*

by the government of either country. It appears, indeed, that a joint publication was originally intended, but whether the death of Champollion, or the change in the state of affairs in France threw impediments in the way, Signor Rosellini has commenced alone, and has carried to a third volume the Italian work. That of Champollion has not yet appeared: we trust that it is not delayed by the liberalized government of Louis Philippe. Among its republican virtues, we would willingly hope that the kingdom of the French has not assumed that of economy in the patronage of literary and scientific undertakings. Having succeeded to the splendid Egyptian Museum of Charles X., the present king will hardly shrink from the not less noble inheritance —the munificence of his predecessor in the encouragement of such studies. But while the mighty dukedom of Tuscany and the wealthy kingdom of France can assist in the prosecution of literary and of scientific objects, humble and impoverished England cannot afford to consider them as matters of public concern. To scientific researches this country is sometimes more favourably inclined, because such researches are fortunately connected with the prospect of commercial advantage. But for literature, what encouragement is afforded by the English nation, as represented by its government?

The public, it may be said, is, after all, the best and most intelligent patron, and it would be an idle waste of any public funds, or even of royal munificence, to encourage a national work in which the public in general would feel no interest. It must, however, be conceded to us that there are works of which the sole value consists in the magnificence with which, in the current phrase, they are got up; and that in many instances it is not the public taste which demands the work, but the work which must create the public taste. Nor can that taste be created without that costliness of execution, that splendour of embellishment, which can only be bestowed on publications of a very large size, with engravings in the older and far more expensive style, and requiring at times very rich and beautiful colouring. Works of this class, which can alone do full justice to certain subjects, must cease to be published in this country without some support besides that of the ordinary purchaser.*

* It is but justice to two learned societies to state, that they have in some degree assisted Mr. Wilkinson in the publication of his labours. That very useful institution, the Geographical Society, has 'taken under its protection' his minute and accurate survey of the Topography of Thebes and of the Pyramids; and the Hieroglyphics published by the Royal Society of Literature were likewise from the collections of Mr. Wilkinson. Mr. Burton, the fellow-labourer of Mr. Wilkinson, has printed some numbers of Excerpta Hieroglyphica, which he has distributed with generous liberality among those persons who take an interest in the study.

It

which Egyptian architecture extended, down to the few ruins of Memphis and Heliopolis, ought to be drawn with that taste, and still more with that truth by which artists are distinguished. Mr. Hamilton's very valuable 'Egyptiaca,' was the first to enable his countrymen to the extraordinary Homeric sculptures on the walls of temples; but this work, excellent as far as it goes, comprehend a hundredth part of the interminable designs the walls of the temples and the tombs. Nor is it the of the kings alone, or the public civil and religious of ancient Egypt which command our interest. The country, with all its natural productions, its animals, birds, vegetables; the *people*, with all their private and domestic pations, are still traced in drawings, if not in the first style with that which renders them still more curious, an appa- Chinese fidelity of outline, and an extraordinary richness colouring. This part of Signor Rosellini's publication is most curious and valuable, and before we close our article shall enter into some details on the subject. There is no time be lost in perpetuating, by means of the European arts of many of these monuments, which, though they have sur- to our day, are in a gradual, though we trust tardy, process decay. Even the 'solid temples' are not secure; several majestic remains, which had been seen by former travellers, were sought in vain by M. Champollion. The river, by a change in its course, had swept some away; others had been destroyed by the barbarism of the inhabitants, in defiance it is said of strict prohibitions from Mohammed Ali. The Appendix to Champollion's Letters contains a memorial to the Pasha on the subject, which gives a melancholy list of thirteen or fourteen buildings recently demolished:—

1. All the monuments at *Cheik-Abadè*—only a few granite columns are left standing.

2. The Temple of *Aschmouneïn*, one of the most beautiful monuments in Egypt.

3. The Temple of *Kaou-el-Kebir*. Here the Nile has been as destructive as man.

4. The Temple to the north of the city of *Esnè*.

5. A Temple opposite to *Esnè*, on the right bank of the river.

6. Three Temples at *El-Kab*, or *El-Eitx*.

7. Two Temples in the island opposite to the city of *Osouan*, *Geziret Osouan.—Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie*, p. 436.

The encroachment of the sand, though not equally destructive, ll requires great labour to dig it out; and sometimes effaces all ages of buildings, which may never again be brought to light. Signor

On the success and *certainty* attained by the system of phonetic interpretation, as we cannot at present enter at length into the subject, we would postpone our deliberate judgment, until the appearance of the Hieroglyphic Grammar announced at Paris. This work, we presume, will contain the ultimate conclusions established by Champollion himself and by his learned coadjutors. It will lay down the whole science in a systematic and intelligible form. Its rules will be clear and simple, and, in every instance, illustrated by plain and incontestable examples. The alphabet, in Mr. Wilkinson's 'Materia Hieroglyphica,' as far as it goes, is formed upon a very judicious principle; each hieroglyphic character is numbered with a reference to some word of frequent occurrence in which its phonetic power is ascertained; the doubtful signs are distinguished from those of which the use is more certain. Much more, however, is wanting to satisfy the doubts, not only of the incredulous, but of more sober-minded scholars, of those who are anxious that the partizans of this extraordinary discovery should not ruin their own cause by their own precipitancy.* The history of each sign must, if possible, be traced —the object which it originally represented—the name of that object, from the initial letter of which it takes its phonetic power—the old Egyptian letter, which from the analogy of the modern Coptic, it is supposed to represent—the words in which it occurs, whether its force is assigned on the authority of the Rosetta stone or any other bilinguar inscription, or on less conclusive authority—the regular progress of each letter through its hieratic and demotic form. It is a still more important point, if possible, to ascertain the principle, or at least to establish some rule of general application, by which we may decide with any degree of certainty when a sign is used with a phonetic or with a symbolic power—whether it is the representative of a letter or of a thing. This is the main cause of the great perplexity and uncertainty which still involves the

mation of salts in the layers or the clefts of the mountain, are quite spoiled, large flakes of stone falling continually from the entablatures and the walls. In others the pictures have been covered with a filthy coating of dirt by the Christian anchorites who inhabited them; in many, finally, the pictures are perishing, day by day, because, having been a long time open, they serve for a retreat to the Arab families which inhabit the shore, and have no other cabin to cover themselves and their miserable herds.'—vol. iii. p. 120.

* Among the most ingenious and satisfactory papers on the subject of hieroglyphical interpretation, which have fallen under our notice, are two letters on the signs, which serve for the notation of dates, on the monuments of ancient Egypt, addressed to the Abbé Gazzara, by F. Salvolini. There is nothing, perhaps, very original in the work, but the author has adhered to the principle enforced upon the interpreters of Hieroglyphics by M. Klaproth, that of closely following out, in the first instance, the parallel words and signs, which are found in the Rosetta stone. The signs which represent days, months, and years, are thus wrought out, as it appears to us, with remarkable perspicuity and success.

system

system of hieroglyphic interpretation; and this, with the frequent omission and irregular use of the vowels, the imperfect knowledge of the Coptic, and of its relation to the vernacular language of ancient Egypt, shows that much yet remains to be done, before the system can be considered as fairly established. Too much at present rests on the arbitrary authority of Champollion, whose variations and inconsistencies have been exposed with a most unsparing hand by M. Klaproth. It may seem an ungracious office, now that Champollion is no more, to detract from his fair fame; but flattery as well as obloquy should be silent over the grave. The merits of Champollion will be no less fully appreciated, if fairly estimated—the statue of his fame, if raised to an unmeasured height, may receive the homage of a few devoted partizans, but reduced to its just proportions, it will command the general admiration and respect of the learned world.*

Champollion was a man of extraordinary rapidity of perception and of combination, indefatigable activity of mind, and that without which few men succeed in any great undertaking, unbounded self-confidence. Once possessed with a conviction, he pressed onward with irrepressible boldness, forgetting all that he had asserted or admitted before,—careless whether he was drawing on the stores of his own mind or those of others; and thus, the same ardour which enabled him to develope his system occasionally with such remarkable felicity, almost always with rare perspicuity, betrayed him into inconsistency, contradiction, and even what appeared to be dishonesty.—Hence, when he adopted new opinions, he never thought it necessary to retract his old ones: a sign, as M. Klaproth has incontestably shown, sometimes represented one, sometimes another letter. This, if he had condescended to explain his rea-

sons for subsequently assigning to it a different value, if he had admitted that he was before in error,—this, at the first outset of the discovery, instead of exciting suspicion, would rather have strengthened the confidence of the reader. Signs at one moment assumed a phonetic, at another a symbolic, or even an ideographic power, at the fiat of Mons. Champollion. The whole, instead of being worked out with cautious toil from fixed and settled premises, was dashed off with a bold and rapid brilliancy of effect, which dazzled at first, but in itself generated in sober minds the suspicion which it was intended to dispel. The affair of the papyrus, in the Collection of M. Sallier, at Aix, was enough to alarm the least reluctant believer. According to his own statement (Lettres, p. 21), M. Champollion remained two days at Aix: it was in the *evening of the second day* that a packet of papyri was placed in his hands, the contents of *all* of which he ascertained. The third was a roll, of which the first pages were wanting, but which contains the praises and the exploits of Ramses Sesostris in a biblical style; that is to say, in the form of an ode in dialogue, between the gods and the king. He decided off-hand that it was a 'real historical treasure'—read the names of fifteen conquered nations, among which were especially named the Ionians, Iouni pavani, and the Lycians, Louka, or Louki; moreover the Ethiopians, Arabs, &c. 'It speaks of their chiefs led into captivity, and the tributes imposed upon their countries.' All this was the work of one evening, from a papyrus manuscript written in a character of which the signs are but imperfectly ascertained, in a language of which it is only known that the Coptic is probably as closely allied to it as the Italian to the Latin, or the modern to the ancient Greek! No sooner is Mons. Champollion arrived in Egypt, than we have fresh proofs of his unhesitating decision. At eight in the evening he has an interview with the Viceroy of Alexandria, who requests a translation of the inscriptions on the obelisks of Alexandria. These obelisks have three columns of characters on each face. The whole is translated into Turkish and delivered to the Viceroy the *next morning*.

But what says Mr. Wilkinson, after twelve years' laborious practice in the application of the phonetic system?

'With regard to the translation of hieroglyphics, M. Champollion must allow, no one is yet sufficiently advanced in the language of ancient Egypt to enable him literally to translate an inscription of any length, or moderately complicated; though a general meaning may frequently be obtained. Time will no doubt do more, and we may hope to see this language interpreted with the same facility as many with which we have been long acquainted. But the steps must be *slow* and cautious; and the only mode of convincing those who still adhere

adhere to a contrary opinion is to trust little to conjecture, or at least to state an uncertainty whenever it exists; to admit and correct errors when discovered; and to settle a fixed rather than a temporary interpretation to the groups, which will answer to their meaning whenever they occur.'—p. 57.

The Letters from Egypt* betray throughout the same bold decision, the same dictatorial assumption of sole and supreme authority over the mysteries of Egyptian knowledge—the same disregard of his own former statements, if they stand in the way of new theories—the same careless appropriation of the labours of others, as though they were his own original discoveries. It is clear that many of his views of the successions of the kings were modified and altered during his residence in Egypt;—it is as clear that in some of these modifications there is a close coincidence in his later opinions with those of Major Felix and of Mr. Wilkinson; yet in the Letters, at least, we look in vain for any fair and candid admission that there were other labourers in the field, and labourers of so much patience and ingenuity.† The tone of Sig. Rosellini (we have great satisfaction in making this statement) is very different: he is uniformly candid, just, and honourable; he constantly awards to these gentlemen their full meed of praise; he assigns to them their due share in the merit of discovery—differs from them with courtesy, and concurs with them without any assumption of undue superiority. Mr. Wilkinson has pointed out one most characteristic instance of Champollion's happy versatility in changing his opinions, and his singular neglect in communicating the change to his readers. We rarely recollect to have seen so happy an exemplification of his countrywoman's innocent declaration—'Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours raison.' Greatly were we perplexed in

three generations higher in the eighteenth dynasty. And all the notice we find of the change is the following felicitously ambiguous sentence:—'Here (at Medeenet Haboo) are the most remarkable works of this Pharaoh (*Rhamses Meiamoun, now become the head of the nineteenth dynasty*), one of the most illustrious among the sovereigns of Egypt, and whose military exploits have been confounded with those of Sesostris, or Rhamses the Great, by ancient authors and by modern writers,'—the modern writer who had caused all the confusion being no other than Champollion himself!

In a former article* we entered at considerable length into the abstruse, yet curious subject of early Egyptian history; we shall proceed to lay before our readers the new facts which have come to light since that period, whether confirmatory or corrective of our former views. In so doing, we shall in general follow the order of Signor Rosellini's work,—availing ourselves as we proceed of the rich materials furnished by Mr. Wilkinson.

We shall, as before, altogether decline the more mysterious and perplexing question of the mythology of ancient Egypt. That part of Signor Rosellini's work has not appeared, and though Mr. Wilkinson has devoted one part of his 'Materia Hieroglyphica' to the deities, according to their images and legends, yet with great good sense he admits in another passage that the time is not yet come to propound any satisfactory account of the Egyptian religion. The Pantheon of Champollion was commenced much too early, and has involved him in most of his difficulties and contradictions.

Among the most curious discoveries of the few last years has been that of the name of Menes or Menei, the first real or mythological founder of the Egyptian kingdom, at the head of a succession of Theban kings. 'In a vast scene of religious pomp, sculptured on one of the internal walls of the *Ramesseion* at Thebes, the statues of the kings, the ancestors of the monarch, who is the majestic author and principal personage in the ceremony, are carried in procession by the priests. These ancestors are those who succeeded from father to son in the eighteenth dynasty down to the living king, whose grandeur closes the procession (che grandeggia nella processione). But the first place is maintained by the most venerable image of all the Egyptian kings: the image of Menes himself is borne as the head of the dynasties of *men*—his name is written Menèi or Meni.' (Rosellini, vol. i. p. 123.) The second king in this list is called, by Mr. Wilkinson, Manmoph, and is supposed to be the only monarch of Theban race who reigned between Menes and the eighteenth dynasty. The

* Quarterly Review, vol. lxxxv. p. 112.

 interpreters

'It has always been a matter of surprise that no hieroglyphics are met with, either in the interior or on the exterior of the pyramids, and that, above all, the sarcophagus should be destitute of those sacred characters, so generally found on Egyptian monuments. Herodotus says he saw an inscription on the front, and, by his account, it seems to have been in the Enchorial or in the Hieratic character; but the Enchorial did not exist at the time of its erection, and the Hieratic, from not being monumental, could scarcely have been used for such a purpose. His "figures of animals" on the causeway appear to allude more particularly to hieroglyphics; but as the exteriors, both of the causeway and the pyramids, are lost, we cannot now decide this question.'—pp. 326, 327.

The absence of hieroglyphics has usually been adduced as the conclusive proof of the antiquity of the pyramids, showing that they were raised before the use of written characters. Besides the name of Suphis, that of his successor, called Suphis the Second by Manetho, Sensaophis by Eratosthenes (the Cephren of the Greeks), has been copied in the tombs at Geezah. Sensaophis, according to Mr. Wilkinson (Materia Hieroglyphica, part ii. p. 74): and Rosellini, (vol. i. p. 130), means, brother of Suphis. He was the builder of the second pyramid. Mencheres, the name which succeeds in the list of Manetho, is not improbably identified with the third founder of the pyramids, the Mycerinus of Herodotus.

These, with the exception of a few scattered names which have been collected from different quarters, and some prenomina on the early part of the tablet of Abydos, and on the tablet of the Chamber of Kings at Karnak, to which the proper names have not been discovered, are all that belong to the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho, namely, Menes, Manmoth, and the two builders of the pyramids. The monumental history of Egypt really begins with Osirtesen I., the last monarch but one of the sixteenth dynasty. Marsham's hypothesis of parallel dynasties in different parts of the kingdom finds little favour in the sight of the interpreters of hieroglyphics. We are not by any means its decided advocates, though in a former article we suggested some arguments in its support, as in our opinion not unworthy of consideration. Osirtesen I., as well as the kings his successors, of the seventeenth dynasty, owe their

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'The meaning of the word (ἐκποίειν), though so very simple, never struck me till I saw the false pyramid: here some of the stones of the centre tier (for the construction is different from that of the pyramids of Geezeh) are left with their original rough projecting form, while others are *smoothed* off; by which means the shape and face of the pyramid becomes made out. Having built the pyramids in form of steps, they cut away the projecting angles, and smoothed the face of them to a flat inclined surface as they descended, the step immediately below serving as a resting-place or scaffolding on which the men worked; so that, in fact, the pyramids have no *casing*, any more than the pyramidal towers of the propyla, or the walls of the temples, which were finished or *made out* in the same manner.'—Wilkinson, *Extracts from Hieroglyphical Subjects*, p. 14.

reinstatement in their regal dignity to the researches of English travellers. From the writings of Mr. Wilkinson, therefore, we select the account of his reign, as far as it is to be traced in the monuments.

'Excepting the pyramids above-mentioned, we find no monument of early date till the time of Osirtesen I. This king, who was probably of the sixteenth dynasty, has left several proofs of the splendour of his reign, and of the chaste style of architecture then in vogue, of which the grottoes at Beni-Hassan bear convincing proofs; a style afterwards revived in the Greek Doric it so much resembles. The small but celebrated city of Heliopolis was at this time adorned with a splendid temple, of which one obelisk still remains, bearing the name of that king; nor was he forgetful of the fertile province of Crocodilopolis, since known by the names of Arsinoite nome and Faioom, where a fallen obelisk bears testimony to the grandeur of the edifice it once adorned. The largest, and the one then only existing, of the four great temples of Thebes, Apa, Tapè, or Diospolis, was also enlarged by the addition of a colonnade at the back of that sanctuary, which was rebuilt by the third Thothmes of red granite, and subsequently repaired by order of Philip, after the destructive invasion of the Persians. The oldest date found on any of the monuments is of his forty-third year, and it is possible that his reign may have continued much longer, but neither Manetho nor any other author makes mention of him.'—*Materia Hieroglyphica*, p. 74.

'Of the greatness of Osirtesen I.,' adds Signor Rosellini, 'as a warrior and a conqueror, we have certain evidence in a large stele which we excavated in Nubia, near the second cataract of the Nile, and which I conveyed, a new and rare treasure, with the other objects which adorn the Royal Museum at Florence. The bas-relief on this monument, the most ancient which exists in Europe, represents this Osirtesen standing to receive different tribes from the interior of Africa, [illegible]

torted view of the narrative of Genesis can transform Jacob, with his twelve sons, his servants, and his flocks, into an overwhelming deluge of conquering barbarians, and a dynasty of six successive kings. Rosellini concurs in the more probable notion of Champollion, who traces the Hyk-shos in the tall, white, slender, blue-eyed, bearded, red-haired, and skin-clad race, against which the Egyptians delighted in showing every mark of contempt. They had them painted on the soles of their sandals, that they might trample on them. 'In the historical bas-reliefs, in which the victories of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty are represented, these barbarians always appear as fugitives or prisoners; and among their different names is, as we shall see, that of *Sciós*. In the paintings, moreover, where the different people subjected to the king of Egypt are passed in review, the *Sciós* are comprehended under a race which are distinguished in the monuments under the more generic name *Sceto*.' From this name, and from their physical appearance, Signor Rosellini would infer that they were a Scythian race, and this is exactly the conclusion which we had ventured to draw before any of these later monuments had come to light.*

It is singular how uniformly the whole of ancient, we might have said, the whole of Asiatic, history represents one great strife, that of the nomad or pastoral against the agricultural tribes. It might seem that the two sons of Adam were types of the two races, with their fatal and implacable hostility. Their characters, indeed, have become directly opposite, and consequently we may presume perhaps to infer, the favour of the Almighty has likewise changed its object; for we cannot but suppose the Supreme Author of good to take delight in that state of mankind which is most conducive to peace, to civilization, and therefore to human happiness. While the nomad tribes might seem to inherit the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the first-born Cain, the tiller of the ground, rather than the keeper of sheep, best represents the more gentle and peaceful Abel. These have been, throughout the primeval history of mankind, as it were the two great principles of light and darkness, of good and evil. No sooner had any kingdom arrived at an eminent stage of civilization than

> 'From the moist region of the northern star
> Did Scythia breathe the living cloud of war.'

Race after race of Tartars threw back the advancing civilization of China: from the earliest period to the Afghan conquest the rich plains of India have been devastated by northern nomads: the poetic legends of the strife between Iran and Turan, in the Persian

* See Quarterly Review, Vol. XLIII. p. 138.

history,

history represent the same necessary warfare: Africa, Europe, alone repelling, as it repudiated strength, the arms of Persia, Cambyses, and other northern tribes, which threatened to overwhelm the Empire of Rome, yet made the last the most extensive and most destructive collision of the two races. Even, in addition, would scarcely secure the rising and solitary wealth of Egyptian and Indian arms. The intelligence that there was corn in Egypt would no sooner be conveyed in perfect of month to the peaceful farmer pursuing his flocks in the neighbouring valleys of Hamath, or in the warlike and roaming tribes, who, for ever prowling on the borders of civilization, were ready to be moved by hunger or the love of plunder or the mere love of war, to any sudden and perilous enterprise.

The hieroglyphic interpreter appears to agree in the opinion that the Shepherd-conquest on no extent beyond Lower Egypt, and that a native dynasty contemporary with the six Shepherd-kings, ruled either at Thebes or in some part of Upper Egypt. This dynasty comprehended two more Osirtesens, the second of whom appears to have been a monarch of power and splendour. The expulsion of the shepherds took place at the close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the magnificent eighteenth dynasty. Signor Rosellini mentions a very curious inscription which belongs to the reign of Amosis Tothmosis (the Mephres Tothmosis of Manetho), under whose reign the expulsion of the Shepherds took place. It appears to commemorate the restoration of the sacrificial worship of the barbarous conquerors. It was found at the great caves of Mokattam, near Cairo, and states, according to Signor Rosellini's interpretation,—"In the great year of the presidency of the king, the son of the Sun, Amosis, for

period. It was likewise the Periclean age of Egyptian sculpture. The great battle-pieces represent the wars and conquests of this race of kings; their images are painted on the walls, graven on the bas-reliefs, or represented in the colossal statues; and if the legends of the kings (unquestionably that branch of hieroglyphic interpretation which has the greatest claim to certainty) be correctly decyphered, we cannot but look with wonder and profound interest on the Portrait Gallery of the Pharaohs of Egypt, exhibited in the engravings of Signor Rosellini's work. The variety in feature and expression of character in these sculptures warrant us in pronouncing them, in the strictest sense, *portraits*. They present almost every gradation of outline, from the low receding brow, thick lips, and flattish nose of the Ethiopian, to an Asiatic, if not Grecian symmetry of feature; and in one we find the high-arched Roman nose. Nor are we without specimens of royal female beauty. This series extends, indeed—though broken by many and long intervals—from Nofre Ari, the Ethiopian wife of the first Amenoph, the head of the eighteenth dynasty, whose features are the nearest to the negro in the whole array, down to her for whom 'the world was well lost.' To confess the truth, in looking on the monumental portrait of Cleopatra, though there is a kind of voluptuous fulness about it, we doubt whether 'the soft triumvir's fault will be forgiven.' But probably, as our great poet has intimated, the beauty of Cleopatra may not have been the most powerful part of her witchery.

> 'Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
> Her infinite variety.'

Yet though the hieroglyphic interpreters agree in finding the kings of Manetho's eighteenth dynasty in the legends of the powerful and warlike Pharaohs, they by no means coincide in their arrangement of that dynasty. Signor Rosellini considers Champollion's first series very incorrect, and admits that it was much improved by the researches of Major Felix and Mr. Wilkinson. He has made his own list more to his own satisfaction. We have likewise the amended series, at least of the latter part of the dynasty, from Champollion himself, in the Letters from Egypt; and Mr. Wilkinson's volume contains his matured opinions on this subject. We shall now lay the different series before our readers—repeating, however, the observation which we made in our former article, that some latitude ought in fairness to be allowed on account of the difficulty of discriminating between the *names* and the *titles* of the sovereigns—the patronymic and other appellations which they might assume at different periods of their reign, or when consecrated as it were to different gods during the course of their respective reigns.

XVIIITH DYNASTY,

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		Amenôf (according to Manetho)	Amos
[illegible]		Thothmes I. (his son)	Amenoph I.
[illegible]		Thothmes II. (his son)	(included in reign of Thothmes I.)
[illegible]		Amenor, his sister, Thothmes III. her first husband, Amenophis her second)	
[illegible]		Thothmes IV. (son of Amenor and Thothmes III.)	Thothmes I. (her husband)
[illegible]		Amenôf II.	Thothmes II.
[illegible]		Thothmes V.	Thothmes III.
[illegible]	Amenophis II. (Memnon)	Amenôf III. (his son)	Amenoph II. (his son)
	Horus	Hor	Thothmes IV. (his son)
		Tousahmot	Maut-ni-shot (regency)
	Ramses I.	Ramses I. (her brother)	Amenoph III. (son of Thothmes IV, the supposed Memnon)
	Menepha I. (Osirei)	Menepthah I. (his son)	Amun-men? (his son)
		Ramses II. (his son)	Remeses or Remesso I.
	Rhamses the Great (Sesostris)	Ramses III. (his brother, Sesostris)	Osirei? I. (his son)
[illegible]	Menepthah II.	Menepthah II. (his son)	Remeses II., or Remeses the Great (his son, Sesoosis or Sesostris)
[illegible]	Menepthah III.	Menepthah III. (Taosra and Sipthah,)	
[illegible]	Rhamerrê	Verri?	Pthahmen Thmeioftep? or Thmeio-ftep-ho.

'Non nostrûm est tantas componere lites.'

The most perplexing part of the strife is, that the great Sesostris is constantly shifting his position. By Champollion he was placed at the head of the nineteenth dynasty: he is now raised into the eighteenth—the second *Ramses*, according to Champollion and Wilkinson; the third, according to Rosellini. The other great Ramses, called Mei-Amun, the loving or the beloved of Amun (a title which appears to our less initiate judgment to be common to all), stands, according to Champollion, at the head; according to Wilkinson, the fourth—in the nineteenth dynasty. At all events, they agree in supposing that the two greatest Egyptian conquerors bore the name of Ramses. The most splendid edifices in Thebes commemorate their glory in war—their luxury in peace. But the military power of Egypt appears to have been carried to a great height before the race of Ramses ascended the throne. We quote Mr. Wilkinson's account of the tomb of Thothmes III.:—

'Number 35 is by far the most curious, I may say, of all the tombs in Thebes, since it throws more light on the manners and customs of the Egyptians than any hitherto discovered. In the outer chamber on the left hand (entering) is a grand procession of Ethiopian and Asiatic chiefs, bearing a tribute to the Egyptian monarch, Thothmes III. They are arranged in five lines. The first or uppermost consists of blacks, and others of a red colour, from the country of Pount, who bring ivory, apes, leopards, skins, and dried fruits. Their dress is short, similar to that of some of the Asiatic tribes who are represented at Medeenet Haboo. In the second line are a people of a light red hue, with long black hair descending in ringlets over their shoulders, but without beards; their dress also consists of a short apron, thrown round the lower part of the body, meeting and folding over in front, and they wear sandals richly worked. Their presents are vases of elegant form, ornamented with flowers, necklaces, and other costly gifts, which, according to the hieroglyphics, they bring as "chosen (offerings) of the chiefs of the Gentiles of Kufa." In the third line are Ethiopians, who are styled "Gentiles of the South." The leaders are dressed in the Egyptian costume, the others have a girdle of skin, with the hair, as usual, outwards. They bring gold rings and bags of precious stones, (?) hides, apes, leopards, ebony, ivory, ostrich eggs and plumes, a camelopard, hounds with handsome collars, and a drove of long-horned oxen. The fourth line is composed of men of a white nation, clad in long white garments, with a blue border, tied at the neck, and ornamented with a cross or other devices. On their head is either a close cap, or their natural hair, short, and of a red colour, and they have a small beard. Some bring long *gloves*, which, with their close sleeves, indicate, as well as their colour, that they are the inhabitants of a cold climate. Among other offerings are vases, similar to those of the Kufa, a chariot and horses,

horses, a bear, elephant, and ivory. Their name is Rot-ñ-no, which reminds us of the Ratheni of Arabia Petræa; but the style of their dress and the nature of their offerings require them to have come from a richer and more civilized country, probably much farther to the north. In the fifth line Egyptians lead the van, and are followed by women of Ethiopia, "the Gentiles of the South," carrying their children in a pannier suspended from their head. Behind these are the wives of the Rot-ñ-no, who are dressed in long robes, divided into three sets of ample flounces. The offerings being placed in the presence of the monarch, who is seated on his throne at the upper part of the picture, an inventory is taken of them by Egyptian scribes. Those opposite the upper line consist of baskets of dried fruits, gold rings, and two obelisks, probably of artificial composition. On the second line are ingots and rings of silver, gold and silver vases of very elegant form, and several heads of animals of the same metals. On the third are ostrich eggs and feathers, ebony, precious stones, and rings of gold, an ape, several silver cups, ivory, leopard skins, ingots and rings of gold, sealed bags of precious stones, and other objects; and on the fourth line are gold and silver rings, vases of the same metals, and of porcelain, with rare woods, and various other rich presents.'—pp. 151—154.

In our former article we entered at some length into the historical accounts of the victories of Sesostris. If the hieroglyphic interpreters are correct in assigning the foreign conquests of the Egyptians to two different monarchs of the name of Ramses, there is in fact no very satisfactory evidence which of the two should be considered the Sesostris, or the Sesoosis of Herodotus and Diodorus. All however agree in placing him in the eighteenth dynasty.

'In Nubia, the great cave-temple of Ipsambul, with its stupendous

world, and whose tranquillity is superior to all earthly vicissitude.*

The second great Rhamses, the Sethos of ancient history, according to Champollion and Rosellini, the Rhamses III. of Wilkinson, appears to have been as mighty a conqueror as his namesake and ancestor. We shall prefer, however, to introduce him to our readers in the garb of peace—although only reposing amid the spoils of victory, and enjoying the consummation of his triumph over his enemies. The temple-palace of which Mr. Wilkinson writes is at Medeenet Haboo.

'I next proceed to notice the great temple and palace of Remeses III. The south part consists of a building once isolated, but since united by a wall with the towers of the last-mentioned temple, before which two lodges form the sides of its spacious entrance. In front of this stood a raised platform, strengthened by masonry, bearing the name of the founder of the edifice, and similar to those met with before the dromos of several Egyptian monuments. After passing the lodges you arrive at a lofty building, resembling a pyramidal tower on either hand, between which runs an oblong court, terminated by a gateway, which passes beneath the chambers of the inner or north side. The whole of this edifice constituted thepavilion of the king; and in addition to several chambers, which still remain, several others stood at the wings, and in the upper part, which have been destroyed. The sculptures on the walls of these private apartments are the more interesting, as they are singular instances of the decorations that adorned the interior of an Egyptian palace. Here the king is attended by his haréem, some of whom present him with flowers, or wave before him fans and flabella; a favourite is caressed or invited to divert his leisure hours with a game similar to chess;† but they are all obliged to stand in his presence, and the king alone is seated on an elegant *fauteuil*, amidst his female attendants,—a custom still prevalent throughout the East. On the front walls the conqueror smites his suppliant captives in the presence of Amunre, who, on the north-east side, appears under the form of Re, the physical Sun, with the head of a hawk. An ornamental border, representing "the chiefs" of the vanquished nations, extends along the base of the whole front; and on either side of the oblong court or passage of the centre, Remeses offers similar prisoners to the deity of the temple, who says,—"Go, my cherished and chosen, make war on foreign nations, besiege their forts, and carry off their people to live as captives."

'Here ornamental balustrades, supported each by four figures of

* M. Champollion recognizes Sesostris in the vast colossus excavated by M. Caviglia among the ruins of Memphis. It is rudely engraved.—*Lettres*, p. 66.

† The chess-playing is represented in a plate in Mr. Burton's Excerpta Hieroglyphica. The men appear to be all of the same size and shape. The attitude of the chess-player has a curious resemblance to that of the Automaton exhibited a few years ago in London.

African

African and Northern barbarians, remind us of Gothic taste; and the summit of the whole pavilion was crowned with a row of shields, the battlements of Egyptian architecture. Hence a dromos of two hundred and sixty-five feet led to the main edifice to the north-west, whose front is formed of two lofty pyramidal towers, or *propyla*, with a *pylon* or door-way between them, the entrance to the first area or *pronaos*. The sculptures over this door refer to the panegyrics of the king, whose name, as at the palace of Remeses II., appears in the centre. Those on the west tower represent the monarch about to slay two prisoners in the presence of Pinai, Sokari, others being bound below and behind the figure of the god. In the lower part is a tablet, commencing with the twelfth year of Remeses; and on the east tower, the same conqueror smites similar captives before Ammure. Beneath are other names of the conquered cities or districts of this northern enemy, and, at the upper part of the propylon, a figure of colossal proportion grasps a group of suppliant captives his uplifted arm is about to sacrifice. Ammure, under the form of Re, holds forth the sword of vengeance, and addresses the king in a long speech, contained in nineteen lines, announcing that the "Gentiles, or foreigners of Libya are beaten down beneath his mighty feet; that the god has come to give him the chiefs of the Gentiles of the South, to cut down them and their children . . . the goods of their country, . . . and smite them with his sword, . . . that he gives the Naval countries . . . and to bring the land of . . . under his power in sandals, . . . that the god gives him the nations . . . to bring to the land of Egypt . . . the gold and silver to serve for the [illegible] of the temple in abundance, that he gives him dominion over the West . . . and the land of Pount, . . . that he gives [illegible] over the West" . . . and other countries, whose names have not been able to ascertain.—[illegible]

[redacted]

battle into emblematic representations, it is directly contrary to an important axiom in the religious history of mankind. The mythology depends upon the genius of the people;—the gods are cast in the mould of the worshippers;—with an agricultural race they will be the presidents of the seasons—the inventors of the plough.

'Primus aratra manu solerti fecit Osiris.'

With an unwarlike people the god of war will hold but a secondary rank. Whether mythological or historical, the battle-pieces of Thebes—the combats by sea and land—the sieges—the triumphs—the processions of captives—the cruel mutilations, on which the number of the vanquished is reckoned by the heads cut off, and by other more barbarous mutilations common in Eastern warfare—the single figures of the heroes in the great conflict, particularly the remarkable one of the conqueror with his lion, which perpetually occurs, as clearly evince the military prowess of the early Egyptians as the Homeric Poems do the warlike habits of the Greeks.

As to the nations with which the Egyptian conquerors are engaged, scarcely any thing has been made out; and we confess that we are not very sanguine as to any future discoveries. Their colour, their features, their dress, their arms, may enable us to distinguish between nations of African and Asiatic—it is just possible—of European descent. But even if we could depend on the correct orthography of the names, it is not probable that the Egyptians should call the different races by exactly the same names as those by which they are known in ancient writers;—the nations themselves had probably many of them perished before the commencement of authentic history. In one place Champollion declares the adversaries of the Egyptians to be 'Asiatics, which, by their costume, may be recognized as Bactrians, Medes, and Babylonians.' The country of the latter, he adds, 'is expressly named, Naharaina Kah, (the country of Naharaina, Mesopotamia,) in the inscriptions of Ibsamboul—as well as the countries of Schôt, Robschi, Schabatoun, Marou, Bachoua, which must of necessity be sought in the primitive geography of Western Asia.'—(*Lettres*, p. 218.) In the tomb of Ousirei I., at Biban-el-Moluk, that opened by Belzoni, Champollion and Wilkinson concur in supposing the procession of the four distinct races to represent the four regions of the earth. The legend, according to Champollion, describes the twelve figures as 'the inhabitants of Egypt and those of foreign countries. They are evidently of distinct families. The three first, (four, according to Wilkinson,) the nearest to the god, are of a dark red colour, well proportioned, with a wild expression of countenance, the nose slightly aquiline, and long twisted hair; they are clothed in white, and called *rót en nerome*, the race of *men*.' The next, according

coming to Wilkinson. He Champollion places them in a different order,) are "a white race, the nose strongly or slightly arched, beard light coloured or red, very tall and upright, clad in the skins of oxen, with the hair or genuine scrotes, removed in different parts of the body; these are called Tamhou." These represent the northern nations, our European ancestors. The negroes follow under the name Nahasi. The last are the Asiatics, with the skin white, but approaching to yellow or brown, strongly marked aquiline nose, beard black, curly, and pointed; "blue eyes, feathers in their hair, and crosses or other devices about their persons, and dressed in long flowing robes."—(Wilkinson, p. 107.) Champollion says, "great variety of costume varies." They are called Naharina. "Instead of the Arab or the Jew, proceeds Champollion," so simply circular in the tomb of Osiriri, Asia has for its representatives in other tombs (those of Rameses Meiamoun, &c.) thirty figures, always with brown skin, aquiline nose, *black* eyes, and bushy beard, but in a costume of extraordinary magnificence. In one, they are evidently Assyrians: their costume, even to the most minute details, exactly resembles the personages engraved on the Assyrian cylinders; in the other, the Medians, or primitive inhabitants of some part of Persia,—their physiognomy and dress being found, line for line, on what are called the Persepolitan Monuments." (Letter xiii., p. 256.) These are the Rebou or Rebo, with whom the Egyptian conquerors are perpetually engaged. The rest of the names do not give us much hope of discovering the race to which they belong. Among the Asiatics are the Moschouch, (which recalls the name of the Moschi, the Fekkaro, the Tahanouna, "the wicked race of Schuro: the country of Aunor; Lonhacha, a maritime region: the Schakalasha, Tacmaon, and

[redacted]

those of their conqueror Sheshonk. It would, indeed, be an interesting fact to discover anything relating to their residence in Egypt; but it is in Lower Egypt, rather than at Thebes, that these hopes are likely to be realized. The "strangers," at Beni-Hassan, have a better claim than any I have seen; and if, as I imagine, the arrivals of Joseph and his brethren date in the reign of Osirtesen, when these grottoes were sculptured, those figures may be looked upon with more than common interest.' To this passage is subjoined the following note:—'The hieroglyphics denote them as "strangers" (Schemmo) and captives, which, with the number 37 following this word, will not agree with the family of Joseph, or the consideration in which they were held in Egypt; we must, therefore, I fear, relinquish this pleasing idea, and rank them among the ordinary captives of the Egyptians. M. Champollion considers them Greeks.' * In one of the recent Numbers of the Engravings to Signor Rosellini's work, there is one representing brick-making. It is described in the brief paper which accompanies the plates, as *Jews* working at the making of bricks. The volume of text, however, which contains the explanation of this Number of the Engravings has not reached us; we are not, therefore, in full possession of the grounds on which the learned Italian has assigned this name to the brick-makers.† Their countenances are certainly Asiatic, and we could almost *imagine* that we recognize the keen dark eye, the sharper line of features, and something of the peculiar expression which still marks the race of Israel. Signor Rosellini adopts the theory of Eusebius, which brings Joseph into Egypt under the Shepherd-kings. On this point alone we venture to be decisive in our opinion, and to assert this hypothesis to be altogether untenable. It rests solely on the uncertain ground of chronological computation, from results obtained by comparing the parallel numbers of the Scripture and the Egyptian chronology. But the Scriptural chronology of this period is still a question of very doubtful debate among biblical scholars. The Egyptian wants an acknowledged basis from which the calculation may commence. But there is the strongest internal

* M. Champollion gives some strong reasons, if he be correct, for his opinion that they are Ionian or Asiatic Greeks: 'The tunic, the head-dress, and the "chaussure" of the captive females painted at Beni-Hassan, resemble those of the Greeks on the oldest vases.' M. Champollion adds that on one of their robes he had found the border *Grecque*, in red, blue, and black. The men with pointed beards were armed with bows and lances, and one of them held in his hand a Greek lyre of the ancient form.—*Lettres*, p. 77.

† 'Their bricks were made with a simple mould; the stamp (for they bore the name of a king or of some high-priest) was not on the pallet, but was apparently impressed on the upper surface previous to their drying: but they do not seem to have used pressure while exposing them to the sun, as I had supposed, from the compact nature of Egyptian crude bricks, several of which I have found as firm as when first made, bearing the name of Thothmes III., the contemporary of Moses, in whose reign this tomb was also executed.'—*Wilkinson*, p. 155.

evidence

[illegible] the time a native [illegible] the Egyptian cos- [illegible] ceremonies may, to a [illegible] the more civilized [illegible] the state and cere- [illegible] the throne [illegible] the [illegible] Egypt. Yet [illegible] was at its [illegible] him to [illegible] lowest at [illegible] were [illegible] the rest of the [illegible] the other measure [illegible] insu- [illegible] of Jacob [illegible] invasion: [illegible] the abomi- [illegible] [illegible] not [illegible] the narrative [illegible] *pertaine*

[illegible] themselves, do [illegible] animals [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Pharaoh.

[illegible] the image of

Malek, the King of the Jews, ranks among the best-known discoveries of Champollion. This remarkable circumstance has flown through the country on the wings of all our Penny and Saturday Magazines. The names of the Ethiopian kings Sabaco, Sciabak, Sciabatok or Sevek, the Sevekus of Manetho, the So or Sua of the Old Testament, and Tirhakah (Tarak), are among the best authenticated of all the ancient legends.

But we must reserve sufficient space to notice the very curious illustration of the public and private life of the Egyptians contained in the engravings to the great Tuscan work. The engraver, however, appears to advance with so much greater rapidity than the author—the detailed explanation of the text is still wanting to so considerable a part of the numbers of the 'Monumenti Civili' already published—that we must content ourselves with a rapid general view of this interesting subject, and chiefly confine ourselves to the earlier numbers. Mr. Wilkinson's highly curious fifth chapter on the private life of the ancient Egyptians will occasionally furnish us with valuable explanatory matter. It is extraordinary that we should possess more ample and minute details of the private and public life of this most ancient people, than even of the Greeks and Romans, at least if the Horatian maxim be true—

> Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Pompeii itself, as Signor Rosellini observes, does not give so extensive or various a view of the everyday occupations of the Romans, as the Catacombs of Egypt do of that primeval people. Pompeii is a small, elegant, and luxurious town, with all its buildings, houses, theatres, baths, and tombs; it gives us a perfect insight into the ordinary way of living in a Campanian city of its class; the forms of the dwellings, the arrangement of the chambers, the utensils, the implements of various kinds, whether for household use or for amusement, seem stored away, as if by express design, and carefully wrapped up in the ashes and scoriæ which cover the city, for the wonder of later ages. But the paintings on the walls, exquisitely graceful as they are, are in general on well-known mythological subjects; they rarely, excepting in a few comic pieces, descend to ordinary life. The pictures of the Isiac worship are very curious, and the landscapes show more knowledge of perspective than the painters of that age had been supposed to possess; but they are still poetic and imaginative, rather than faithful representations of real scenes. In the Catacombs of Egypt, on the other hand, every act of every department of life seems to have been carefully copied, and the imperfection of the art of design increases rather than diminishes the interest of their pictures, as they evidently

 adhere

[illegible] fidelity to the truth of nature. A [illegible] to have come to light; the [illegible] their castes; in their civil, and [illegible] in their feasts and their [illegible] in their amusements [illegible] in their farmyards, in their [illegible] in their boats and their [illegible] procession, and the privacy [illegible] propensity of the ancient [illegible] as they called them, [illegible] other nations have [illegible], is one of the [illegible] phenomena [illegible] sepulchral [illegible] narrow, and [illegible] have been [illegible] kind of reve- [illegible] some of the [illegible] neck-deep [illegible] in all the [illegible] engaged; [illegible] and cor- [illegible] the [illegible] mother [illegible] necessity. [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] nomian

cleared from the overwhelming sand, to be penetrated by the courage and perseverance of European travellers. It is in them that these scenes of Egyptian life are traced, painted on the walls in many instances in colours which retain all their original freshness and splendour. Of all these the sepulchral chambers of the Theban necropolis are by far the most spacious and magnificent; but those of Beni Hassan appear to furnish the most curious illustrations of common life. It is here that the trades, manufactures, and agricultural pursuits are depicted in regular compartments.

The principle of devoting so much cost and toil to the everlasting palaces of departed monarchs, which probably gave rise to the construction of the pyramids, and unquestionably to the excavation of the royal tombs of Biban el Moluk, once admitted, the decoration of the walls with religious processions, or with painted legends of the glory of the deceased, may seem less inexplicable. The care, the skill, the expense lavished on the embalming of the perishable body is in perfect unison with this preparation of a splendid and durable dwelling for the remains, which were to be immortalized by every means in human power*. Still there is to us something unaccountable in this delineation of *every occupation of life* in the habitations of the dead. We comprehend the gradual expansion of that feeling, from which the 'poor Indian' who

> 'Thinks, admitted to the equal sky,
> His faithful dog shall bear him company'—

is buried with his arrows, and with the companion of his hunter life. Hence, with the Hindu, with the Gete, with the Gothic warrior, the steed, the captive, and the wife were entombed together, the living with the dead, under the vast sepulchral mound. If the paintings were merely intended to designate the rank, the profession, the occupation of the deceased, the warlike scene in the tomb of the military caste, scenes of rural labour in that of the peasant or agriculturist, their purport would be evident; but some of the tombs appear to be decorated with every kind of device: there seems to have been almost a deliberate design to make this subterranean world a complete antetype, as it were, of the real world above. The whole question, in truth, is a profound and impenetrable mystery. Of all the learned and ingenious writers on the subject, none has succeeded in tracing with satisfactory per-

* We must not neglect this opportunity of noticing the very curious and interesting 'History of Egyptian Mummies,' published last year, by Mr. Pettigrew. The author's scientific decomposition of the mummies, which he has examined, has thrown a very clear light on the whole process of embalming, and there is much valuable Egyptian lore collected in his work, which is moreover written in an elegant and attractive style. We are always glad to find science and learning in close conjunction; and above all to find them both pursued with success in the midst of the active labours of a professional life.

The soul still adhered to its undecaying associate; and was not compelled, as long as that remained entire, to begin its passage through the degrading course of successive animal existence during the appointed revolution of 3000 years. According to another theory, which wants authority rather than probability, the sepulchral mansions were not considered strictly speaking eternal; they lasted until an actual renovation of life, which was to take place at the close of some vast yet definite cycle. In both these theories the soul remained domiciliated with the body; it inhabited the same solid mansion: but the curious question still remains, whether this representation of actual life,—this distribution of the chambers as in the dwellings of the living,—this regular gradation of rank from the palace of the prince to the cabin of the peasant,—was meant to imply *the consciousness* of the inhabitant of these subterranean cities. The only thing wanting perfectly to assimilate these dwellings to the abodes of the living was the light of day. They were the direct opposite of the Greek Elysium—

> 'Largior hos campos æther, et lumine vestit
> Purpureo.'

A solemn and impenetrable gloom shrouded the rock-hewn regions of the Egyptian dead.

There appears no satisfactory evidence that these majestic chambers could be intended, according to a recent suggestion, for the living to hold festivals in honour of the dead. From the remotest East, to the Greeks and Romans, these parentalia appear to have been congenial to the feelings of all mankind. The curious novels and plays which give us an insight into Chinese manners, constantly turn on this most important of filial duties, the celebration of proper rites at the family tombs. Indian poetry is full of the same universal sentiment; childlessness is the greatest curse, chiefly because there will be no one to do honour to the tomb of the departed; the gentilitia sacra, the rites in honour of the whole line of ancestors will be suspended, and the inglorious race will become extinct. It is unnecessary to adduce instances of this feeling from the Greek and Roman poets:—

> 'Est honor et tumulis, animas placate paternas,
> Parvaque in extinctas munera ferte pyras.'
>
> —*Ovid. Fasti*, ii. 534, &c. &c. &c.

But even if some part of the honours paid by the Egyptians to the dead originated in this indelible feeling of human nature—though it might have heightened the reverence for the sepulchres of the mighty monarchs, or even made the decent burial, and the embalming of the bodies of the poor, a public concern—we are not aware of any evidence that, the tomb once closed around the sarcophagus

[illegible] of the inhabitant and his imperishable remains. It [illegible] further mourning or festal ceremonial. [illegible] Amun was constantly crowded with new [illegible] according to the solemn ritual: but [illegible] indent reposed undisturbed and un-

[illegible] the kings of old.'

[illegible] systematic and elaborate transcript [illegible] the dead, there must lie, [illegible] meaning, which has not yet been [illegible] subject.

[illegible] from his collection of drawings [illegible], and arranged together according [illegible] drawings which refer to Egyptian [illegible] which relate to the chace, to [illegible] economy, to sports or [illegible] a rapid glance over his por- [illegible] Ptolemies; we shall now follow [illegible] which interprets the [illegible] commences with the chace in all [illegible] species, and fish, which are [illegible] fact, and one which [illegible] as inspires hopes of the [illegible] interpretation, that the birds [illegible] by their names in hiero- [illegible] in different drawings of [illegible] discriminate the male and [illegible] of water-fowl: it is con-

[illegible]

Rosellini seems to have pretty clearly identified *one* bird of prey now an inhabitant of Egypt; *fourteen* birds of the forest; *fifteen* birds of the water-side; and *fifteen* species of water-fowl.

The quadrupeds, of which the Egyptian hunters made their game, among the less powerful animals, were hares, gazelles, and foxes; among the larger, antelopes, wolves, and jackals. In one hunting piece, an ancient Schneyders has represented a grand battue of bulls, buffaloes, deer of various kinds, wolves, foxes, and hares, a kind of porcupine, and three great swans, which are defending themselves against the dogs. The mode of hunting in one part well illustrates Virgil's '*Saltus indagine cingunt.*' The huntsmen are armed with bows and arrows, which they discharge against the struggling animals, or those which are escaping from the circle made by the nets. They are accompanied by dogs of various kinds; the greyhound in his leash, and hounds of a stronger make and more ferocious aspect, which fearlessly assail the larger animals. The whole list of quadrupeds found in the paintings includes antelopes of different kinds, deer, wolves, jackals, lions, hunting tigers,* monkeys, a civet cat, cats and mice, buffaloes, a small animal like the Brahminy bull, the rhinoceros, the elephant, and the giraffe. Besides these, there are some strange composite animals, in which the imagination of the painter has sinned against the Horatian rule, which forbids

'Varias inducere plumas
Undique collatis membris.'

Among these monsters, which, like those in the Persian sculptures, may have been symbolic, Signor Rosellini recognizes the type of the Grecian hippogryph.

The scenes in the fisheries are still more curious, though, except in very few instances, the fish themselves baffle the skill of the naturalist to decide on their scientific names. In an article in our last number, we observed the singular propriety with which the Prophet Isaiah introduces 'the mourning fishers,' as an important class in Egyptian society. Signor Rosellini, with great ingenuity, and in our opinion with much probability, has made out from the legends which accompany some of these paintings, that 'those who cast the net upon the waters' formed a regular fraternity, a kind of subordinate caste, under their appointed pre-

* 'It does not appear they trained the leopard for this purpose, though it is highly probable that they did so, as this animal has been employed in the East for the chase of the gazelle from a very remote period. But the lion was evidently used for hunting by the Egyptians, and a favourite sometimes attended the kings in their military expeditions. . . . The wild ox was frequently caught by a running noose' (the *lasso* of South America); 'but the dogs or the arrows of the chasseur were employed against the swifter antelopes.'—*Wilkinson*, pp. 227, 228.

sident.

[illegible] that he [illegible] the fisheries [illegible] —[illegible] writes [illegible] [illegible] *making* [illegible] *the setting* [illegible] The vast stores [illegible] Many metal implements were [illegible] Among the paintings we have the [illegible] represents the [illegible] *

[illegible] author proceeds to the care and breeding [illegible]. We have the whole history of Pharaoh's [illegible] after the fittest rather than the [illegible] contest of the bulls for the [illegible] impregnation, the parturition, no- [illegible] down to the slaughter-house. [illegible] the Egyptian monarch was [illegible] as successful a grazier as our [illegible] blessed memory. We find *the* [illegible] painting we have what [illegible] which some Egyptian [illegible] down, like a prudent [illegible] These are oxen, goats, and [illegible] of swine. It is [illegible] actual operation. [illegible] there were separate physicians

drawn by two cows, before one of which a calf is represented as prancing and sporting, not without some comic expression. The process of sowing, and of treading in the grain,* as described in Herodotus and Diodorus, by the feet of beasts, is distinctly represented. Two men are standing with upraised scourges to drive a herd or a flock (Herodotus gives that office to swine) over the field that has been sown. The harvest follows, the treading out the corn by the unmuzzled ox, according to the law in Deuteronomy, the storing it away in vast magazines, while the intendant or steward sits at his desk taking account of the sacks as they are carried up into the granaries. Here, if we are to credit the very ingenious interpretation of Rosellini, or rather of his master Champollion (*Lettres*, p. 196), as we have a specimen of everything Egyptian, we have some lines of Egyptian poetry. The inscription represents a song, for, says Champollion, 'Dans la vieille Egypte, comme dans celle d'aujourd'hui, tout se faisait en chantant, et chaque genre de travail a sa chanson particulière.' We should like to see, if not an Egyptian Burns or Beranger, a collection of Egyptian popular songs. We lament to say that the present is the only one which the hieroglyphic interpreters have vouchsafed to communicate. We give it in the French translation:—'Battez pour vous (bis), o bœufs, Battez pour vous (bis). Des boisseaux pour vos maîtres.' On this odd counterpart to *sic vos non vobis*, Champollion gravely proceeds; —'La poësie n'est pas très brillante: probablement l'air faisait passer la chanson: du reste, elle est convenable à la circonstance dans laquelle on la chantait, et elle me paraîtrait déjà fort curieuse quand *même elle ne ferait que constater l'antiquité du* BIS, qui est écrit à la fin de la 1re et de la 3me ligne. J'aurais voulu en trouver la musique pour l'envoyer à notre respectable ami le Général de la Salette: elle lui aurait fourni quelques données de plus pour ses savantes recherches sur la musique des anciens.'

* 'Their wheat was mostly, if not all, bearded, and similar to that now cultivated in Egypt. It was cropped a little below the ear with a toothed sickle, and carried in rope nets to the threshing-floor (if I may use the term), the gleaners following. It was then collected on a level spot in the vicinity of the field, and several asses or oxen trod out the grain, being driven to and fro over every part of the heap, which men took care constantly to turn with large forks. Similar to this process was the tritura of the Latins; and in some instances the Egyptians employed other animals for the same purpose. For winnowing, they had two short-handled shovels, and the grain, amassed in a lofty mound, was then carried in leather bushels, and housed in a vaulted granary, or in its open court; each measure, as it was called by the teller, being noted down by a scribe who overlooked its removal.

'Another species of grain, with a single round head, was plucked up by the roots, but formed, in the Thebaid at least, a much smaller proportion of the cultivated produce of the country. Its height far exceeds the wheat, near which they represent it growing, and its general appearance cannot answer better to any of the order of gramina, than the sorghum, or Egyptian doora.'—*Wilkinson*, p. 214—216.

The

[illegible] the harvest [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

There is one extraordinary sort of procession, in which hundreds of votaries are dragging along by main strength a vast idol, which moves on a kind of sledge. One priest, who looks like a Lilliputian mounted upon Captain Gulliver's knee, seems to be addressing the multitude; a second is making an offering; a third pouring forth a libation. We have before noticed the brick-makers, whom Rosellini is inclined to identify with the Jews; we do not feel sufficient confidence in our own hieroglyphical skill to decide upon the meaning of the long legend which accompanies these paintings. The goldsmiths and silversmiths next appear, weighing, melting, refining gold, and evidently exercising the art of gilding on some small statues; others are forming necklaces apparently of coloured glass.* If we cannot discern much Grecian taste or ideal beauty in the studios of the painters and sculptors, we must express our surprise at finding almost all the most graceful and elegant forms of Etruscan and Grecian urns and vases in the rich collection of Egyptian pottery† which has been obtained for the Florentine Museum, and is copied in this work. We have already noticed the extraordinary similitude in the plans and sites of the cemeteries belonging to the old Etruscan cities in Italy. This is a new point of similarity which still more vividly excites the curiosity. Nothing can surpass the splendour of colouring or the richness, grace, and variety of patterns in these vases: the airy human forms, which float upon the finer Grecian urns and vessels, and the exquisite mythological figures, which are drawn with so fine and light a pencil, are indeed wanting; still the borders, very like the Etruscan, the arabesques, and the kind of kaleidoscope patterns, are fanciful and elegant in the highest degree. We pass over several

* 'They were not only acquainted with glass, but excelled in the art of staining it of divers hues, and their ingenuity had pointed out to them the mode of carrying devices of various colours directly through the fused substance. Of the early epoch at which glass was known in Egypt, I must observe, that besides our finding the process represented at Beni Hassan and Thebes, I have seen a ball of this substance which bears the name of Amunneitgori, who lived towards the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty, about 1500 B.C. It is in the possession of Captain Henvey, R. N., who has had the kindness to send me the result of an examination, made by a friend of his in Europe, who ascertained that its specific gravity is 25·23; being the same as English crown-glass. It has a slight greenish hue, and has been worn as the bead of a necklace.'—*Wilkinson*, p. 258.

We have received from private information a still more curious fact. Signor Rosellini showed, the other day, to a friend of ours at Florence a sort of smelling-bottle, evidently of *Chinese porcelain*, and with characters, to all appearance, *Chinese!* This was found by Rosellini himself in a tomb, which, as far as could be ascertained, had not been opened since the days of the Pharaohs.

† 'It is doubtful,' observes Sir W. Gell, in his recent work on the Topography of Rome, 'whether some antiquities decidedly Egyptian, said to have been found at Corneto, were really discovered there or not. Certain geese, alternating with little figures in the attitude of prayer, and forming a border in fine gold, seem evidently Egyptian.' Vol. i. p. 379. From the engravings in Sir W. Gell's book, these are clearly the symbolic characters which perpetually occur in the inscriptions.

domestic

domestic manufactures, of shoes made of palm or of papyrus leaves and of leather, of ropes and skins, with the females employed in distilling the essences of flowers, the perfumers to the queens of the Pharaohs.

We proceed to the mansion of an Egyptian of rank, perhaps to the royal palace, where we are admitted to the private chambers of the females, ornamented in the most sumptuous manner, opening upon a garden, and supported by slender pillars with lotus capitals, which have a singular Indian appearance.* In the garden which follows we should expect, of course, that Egyptian taste would partake of the formal regularity of artificial gardening, and so it is—

> 'Each walk at grove, each alley has its brother,
> And half the pattern just reflects the other.'

Some square fish ponds are marked by rows of aquatic birds of [illegible], the same shape, and the avenues of trees are trimmed into a [illegible] form. The vineyard forms the centre, and appears [illegible] festoons. The late Mr. Hope, the re[illegible] English taste in furniture—a taste, we beg to observe, on which [illegible] the elegance and comfort of private life de[illegible] have been amused to find that some of his designs [illegible] splendour and grace by the Gillows of Thebes [illegible] carpet and floorcloth manufacturers might find [illegible] study some of the Egyptian patterns; and [illegible] might furnish models for the most splendid [illegible] Their furniture, says Mr. Wilkinson, resembles [illegible] drawing room, and stools, chairs, fauteuils, [illegible] the three last precisely similar to [illegible] were the only seats met with in the man[illegible] Egyptians. But we do not remain

[illegible]

valets approach with the robes, the collars, the girdle, the bow. Her majesty's ladies of the bedchamber are likewise in waiting with the female paraphernalia. The next print is a curious one, and deserves a close investigation: it seems to represent offerings of food, and of ornaments, and other honours to the dead. It is followed by a kitchen-scene, and then a banquet of the living. The former commences as usual, *ab ovo*, at least with the slaughter-house. The beasts are killed, flayed, cut up; the geese and other fowl flutter in the barbarous hands of the poulterers; the lambs are carried along in baskets, like our milk-pails; the ox is bleeding his life away into a pitcher; the cooks and bakers are as busy as if preparing for a city festival, their cauldrons and kettles boiling over the fire, their flesh-hooks in active work, and one *artiste* peeling leeks for the sauce. The guests at the dinner thus bountifully provided are not arrayed along or round a table, but in separate groups, containing from one to three;—one only is seated on a kind of chair, the rest sit with their legs straight under them, in what appears to us a more uncomfortable posture than that of the modern Orientals.* The slaves are waiting and bearing different luxuries, whether of perfumes or food. Next come music and dancing—harps with six, nine, ten, or twelve strings, wind instruments of great diversity of form, ancient Almès displaying their shapes in the dance, and among them appear four grotesque figures playing and dancing, as if in a kind of masque or fancy ball. Wrestlers are next seen in every possible distortion of form, and female tumblers, not always in the most decent attitudes. Then some other games which we cannot make out, and chess, or a game like chess, with men all of the same shape.

The forms of the boats and the way of rowing, the men standing in rows sometimes one above the other, are very curious, as well as the barks, in which,

> 'With adventurous oar and ready sail,
> The dusky people drive before the gale.'

In some of the sailing-boats, with their chequered sails, we catch a resemblance to the boats and mat-sails of the South Sea Islanders. One or two of the more splendid barks realize the description of Cleopatra's:—

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* 'Wine and other refreshments were then brought, and they indulged so freely in the former, that the ladies now and then gave those proofs of its potent effects which they could no longer conceal. In the mean time, dinner was prepared, and joints of beef, geese, fish, and game, with a profusion of vegetables and fruit, were laid, at mid-day, upon several small tables; two or more of the guests being seated at each. Knives and forks were of course unknown, and the mode of carving and eating with the fingers was similar to that adopted at present in Egypt and throughout the East; water or wine being brought in earthen *bardaks*, or in gold, silver, or porcelain cups.'—*Wilkinson.*

'The

The ark she sat on, like a burnished throne,
Burns on the waters.'

The last Number of the engravings closes with the enrolment, [illegible] and exercise of the military. The scribe is writing [illegible] names on the muster-roll, the recruits are learning to [illegible] must say, thanks perhaps to the artist, they move [illegible] and with the most symmetrical regularity. The [illegible] represent military gymnastics. The following [illegible] probably make us better acquainted with the armies [illegible] shall await them with great and undiminished

[illegible] Signor Rosellini's work is composed in the [illegible] and with the diligence of an accom- [illegible] historical points of considerable im- [illegible] different views; but it is impossible not to [illegible] of one who unites so much candour with [illegible] liberality towards all his colleagues [illegible] with such high qualifications for the [illegible] of learning to which he has devoted his [illegible] who wish to obtain a more rapid and [illegible] progress made in Egyptian discovery [illegible] Mr. Wilkinson. His long residence in [illegible] and repeated investigation of the different [illegible] intimate acquaintance with the vernacular [illegible] customs, render him a high authority on [illegible] actual observation: while, if the [illegible] work might be improved, the matter is full of [illegible] information; and the whole set forth, if in an [illegible] forcible, and unaffected style. To [illegible] the East this book will be an indispensable

it from our ephemeral jurisdiction; but there are some particulars connected with the successive editions of this work which call for special notice—and indeed the later editions contain some facts, which are, we believe, as yet not extensively known, but which we consider as of considerable importance—not merely to the elucidation of *particular predictions*, but to the corroboration of the *general scheme* of Scripture prophecy.

There is, however, a preliminary topic suggested by Dr. Keith's work, which has hitherto been, as far as we are aware, wholly unnoticed, but which, even as a literary question, requires explanation: for, as it at present stands, it seems to us to derogate very much from the personal character of Dr. Keith for candour and fair dealing; and of course the want of these qualities on the part of the author would have a tendency to diminish any favour and confidence to which his work might otherwise, and on its own intrinsic merit, be entitled. We mean the extraordinary and to us incomprehensible manner in which Dr. Keith has dealt with Bishop Newton's 'Dissertations on the Prophecies;'—from which he appears to have borrowed—not only without acknowledgment, but with a studious attempt at concealment—the main design and plan of the work, his most valuable facts and arguments, and most, if not all, of the authorities and illustrations which appear in his earlier editions.*

Dr. Keith states the occasion and object of *his* publication in the following passage of the preface to the first edition:—

'The idea of the propriety of such a publication was first suggested to the writer in consequence of a conversation with a person who disbelieved the truth of Christianity, but whose mind seemed considerably affected by a slight allusion to the argument of prophecy. Having in vain endeavoured to obtain for his perusal any concise treatise on the prophecies considered exclusively as a matter of EVIDENCE [sic], and having failed in soliciting others to undertake the work, who were far better qualified for the execution of it, the writer was induced to make the attempt.'—*Preface*, p. v.

We must, before we go farther, observe, that we do not clearly understand what Dr. Keith means by saying so emphatically, that he could find no concise treatise in which the '*prophecies are considered exclusively as matter of* EVIDENCE.' We, on the contrary, know of no 'treatise on the prophecies'—concise or voluminous—which does *not* consider them as, in a double sense, '*matter of evidence*;' first, as to be tried *by the evidence* of posterior facts and events; and secondly, when thus substantiated, to

* Of the *twelve* editions we have been able to see but four, but we do not apprehend that those we have not seen can be different in any essential from those we have. be

be adduced *as evidence* of divine inspiration, and consequently of revealed religion.

Passing over this preliminary ambiguity, we must confess that we cannot comprehend how any man who had seen or even heard of Bishop Newton's celebrated work—a work known not only to every scholar, but, we may say, to every studious Christian in the empire—could have thus boldly denied the very existence of such a treatise; but when, in proceeding to examine Dr. Keith's own work, we find that it is, in its *form* and *substance*, its *topics*, its *evidences*, and its *arguments*, *identically similar* to the Bishop's, we indeed are exceedingly astonished, and wonder whether to attribute the Doctor's assertion to ignorance or . . . our readers may fill up the blank when they shall have finished our Article. As this is an age—still more than that in which the phrase was first used—in which books are made to pour out of one vessel into another, we should not have complained of Dr. Keith's use or even abuse of Bishop Newton's valuable volumes, if he had not, in so high a tone, disclaimed all knowledge of any such work; and it is very remarkable that throughout the first part of his volume there is no allusion which [illegible] any one to believe that Newton had written on the same [illegible] Dr. Keith, perhaps, may not think Bishop Newton's work [illegible] perfect [illegible] But *short* and *long* are relative [illegible] in some respects, and compared with some other works, [illegible] in our judgment, justly entitled to be called *con-* [illegible] quite as much so as Dr. Keith's copy [illegible] It is the common manual on the subject; and the difference in length between it and Dr. Keith's octavo edition is very [illegible] when we recollect that Dr. Keith excludes *a par-* [illegible]

The first coincidence occurs in the first pages of the prefatory matter of the two publications. We have already quoted a passage from Dr. Keith's first preface—we now beg our readers to turn back and read that extract again—and having done so, we submit to their wonder a passage from the first page of Bishop Newton's work:—

'What first suggested the design were some conversations formerly with a great general (Marshal Wade), who was a man of good understanding and of some reading, but, unhappily, had no great regard for revealed religion or the clergy. When the prophecies were urged as a proof of revelation, he constantly derided the notion, asserted that there was no such thing, and that the prophecies which were pretended were written after the events. It was immediately replied, —that there were several prophecies in Scripture which were not fulfilled till those later ages, and are fulfilling even now, and, consequently, could not be framed after the events, but undeniably were written and published many ages before. He was startled at this, and said he must acknowledge that, if this point could be proved to satisfaction, there would be no argument against such plain matter of fact; it would certainly convince him. It was this occasion, my lord, that first gave rise to these dissertations.'—*Newton's Dedication.*

Here is a curious coincidence to begin with. Bishop Newton writes his book to satisfy a person with whom the evidence from prophecy appeared to have extraordinary weight. Dr. Keith, seventy years after, *happens* to meet a person similarly disposed, and having *sought in vain* for any treatise that meets such an object, (though we shall show, by and by, that he all along had Bishop Newton at *his fingers' ends,*) concocts a book which, as the occasions were similar, turns out to be, by a double coincidence, *exactly similar* to its *unknown* predecessor.

We shall now proceed to show that that predecessor was *not* unknown. In the first place, the two passages we have quoted might excite a little suspicion that the *later* in point of date was borrowed from the *earlier.* Our first proof is, in the preface to his fifth edition. In the next, we find Dr. Keith sets out by quoting—as from an uncertain author—that concise, pregnant, and beautiful expression, '*Prophecy is a growing evidence!*' This remarkable phrase belongs to Bishop Newton; at least he uses it—(*Introd.* p. 3, ed. 1831)—and we do not recollect to have seen it in any anterior writer. But we shall not rest on suspicions nor even probabilities—we mean to establish, by *proof,* the *fact* of *unacknowledged and deliberate plagiarism.*

Dr. Keith does not take quite so wide a scope as Bishop Newton: 'to bring the argument within narrow limits, those prophecies are excluded which were fulfilled previously to the era of the last of the prophets, or of which the meaning is obscure or the

 application

[illegible] [illegible]. —*Preface*, p. v. Nor is the *order* of the [illegible] same. Bishop Newton follows, in the main part, the [illegible] of the prophecies. Dr Keith seems to us to have no [illegible] *singular singulis*, the following comparative [illegible] of the chapters and of both works will show the [illegible] design.

[illegible]	NEWTON.
[illegible]	Introduction.
[illegible] concerning the [illegible]	Jesus is the Messiah—Diss. iv. v. vi. Moses's Prophecy of a Prophet like himself—Diss. vi.
[illegible] The Destruction of Jerusalem [illegible]	The Destruction of Jerusalem—Diss. vi. and xvii.
[illegible] The Jews	The Jews—Diss. vii.
[illegible]	Other Prophecies concerning the Jews. Destruction of Judea—Diss. vii.
[illegible] Nineveh	Nineveh—Diss. ix.
[illegible] Babylon	Babylon—Diss. x.
[illegible] Tyre	Tyre—Diss. xi.
[illegible] Egypt	Egypt—Diss. xii.
[illegible]	Prophecies concerning Ishmael—Diss. ii.
[illegible] Churches of Asia	Not in Newton—nor in Keith's first edition.
[illegible] Daniel's Prophecy of the [illegible] noted in the Scripture [illegible]	Daniel's Prophecy of the Things noted in the Scripture of Truth—Diss. xvi.
[illegible]	Conclusion.

[illegible] sufficiently show that the general scheme of the

chance. Let us begin with the earliest, in point of date, of the prophecies—the denunciation of the destruction of Jerusalem—treated in Newton's seventh dissertation and in Keith's third chapter:—

NEWTON.	KEITH.
Diss. vii., p. 91, &c.	Chap. iii. pp. 51, &c.
The *first* text quoted is from Deut. xxviii.; and the *second* text quoted is 2 Kings vi.; and the *third* text quoted, Lev. xxvi., and so on.	The *first* text quoted is from Deut. xxviii.; and the *second* text quoted is from 2 Kings vi.; and the *third* text quoted is Lev. xxvi., and so on.

And Newton states, that in beginning with these texts he departs from the order in which the prophecies lie: so that, if Keith did not copy Newton, he must have hit upon the bishop's motive for inverting the usual order. They then proceed to observe upon the text of Deuteronomy xxviii. 49:—

NEWTON.	KEITH.
'This description cannot be applied to any nation with such propriety as to *the Romans*: they were truly brought from far—from the *ends of the earth*. Vespasian and Adrian, the two greatest *conquerors and destroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding here in Britain*. The Romans, too, from the *rapidity of their conquests*, might very well be compared to *eagles*, and perhaps not without allusion to the *standard of their armies*; and their *language was more unknown* to the Jews than the Chaldee.'	'Every particular of this prophecy has met its full completion. The remote situation of *the Romans*—the *rapidity of their march*—the very emblem of their arms—*their unknown language* and warlike appearance—their indiscriminate *cruelty and unsparing pillage*, which they exercised towards the persons and properties *of the Jews*, could hardly have been represented in more descriptive terms. *Vespasian, Adrian*, and Julius Severus *removed with their armies from Britain* to Palestine—the *extreme points of* the Roman *world*. The *eagle* was *the standard of their armies*.'
Newton proceeds to notice the slaughter at *Gadara* and *Gamala* (p. 91), and several other fortified places (p. 92).	Keith proceeds to notice the slaughter at *Gadara* and *Gamala* and other *repeated instances* (p. 52).

Immediately after this, *both* authors proceed to mention the capture of Samaria by the king of the Assyrians.

NEWTON—pp. 93, 92.	KEITH—p. 53.
'*Six hundred years* after the time of Moses, *when Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria*,—"there was a great famine in Samaria; and behold, they besieged	'*Six hundred years* posterior to this prediction, *Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria*—the most loathsome food was of great price; *and an ass's head*

sieged it till an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver."

To which Newton subjoins a reference to 2 Kings vi. 25, where the passage is.

Both immediately proceed—

NEWTON—p. 93.

"And when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land." 2 Kings xxv. 3. And in the last siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, there was a most terrible famine in the city; and Josephus hath given so melancholy an account of it, that we cannot read it without shuddering. He saith particularly, that [illegible] *snatched the food out of* [illegible] *husbands*, and [illegible] mothers, and [illegible] most [illegible] Jos. l. 5, [illegible]

[illegible] every house, if there appeared any [illegible] of food, a [illegible] and the dearest [illegible] and relatives fought with [illegible] and snatching away [illegible] miserable provisions of life."

was sold for eighty pieces of silver.'

To which Keith subjoins a reference to 2 Kings vi. 4; where there is *nothing* about it.

KEITH—p. 53.

'When Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land. And Josephus relates the direful calamities of the Jews in their last siege, before they ceased to have a city. The famine was too powerful for all other passions, for what was otherwise reverenced was in this case despised.

Children *snatched the food out of the very mouths of their fathers* and even mothers, overcoming the kindred feelings of nature, &c.—

(Keith here makes no marks of quotation, but goes on without break.)

—In every house, where there was the least shadow of food, a combat arose, and the nearest relatives struggled with one another for the miserable means of subsistence.'—*Jos.* l. vi. c. 3, § 4.

seems clear that Dr. Keith either did not consult Josephus,* or made his notes very carelessly, for he refers for *all* this to the *sixth* book, *third* chapter, *fourth* section, whereas this last passage is in fact in the *fifth* book, *tenth* chapter, and *third* section; and he has fallen into this error because Bishop Newton had collected from different parts of Josephus all that belonged to the same subject, and Keith took the bishop's *last* reference, not knowing, as it seems, how much belonged to one *book* and how much to another.

We hereabouts find an additional instance of Dr. Keith's use of the bishop's version of Josephus, accompanied by a little artificial attempt at originality:—

'*The constitution of* nature, says the Jewish historian, (*Jos.* iv. 4,) *was confounded for the destruction of men, and one might easily conjecture that no common calamities were portended.*'—*Keith*, p. 60.

Bishop Newton quotes the *same* author to the *same* point, and in the *same* part of the argument:—

'It was manifest (as he [*Jos.* iv. 4] saith) that *the constitution of the* universe *was confounded for the destruction of men, and any one might easily conjecture that these things portended no common calamity.*' —*Newton*, p. 379.

Here the words employed are all identically the *same*, except that Dr. Keith substitutes *nature* for Newton's *universe*—Newton being *nearest* the original—*τῶν ὅλων*.

We think we may now venture to assert that we have proved that Dr. Keith made very ample use of Bishop Newton's book, though his preface seems to negative even the possible existence of such a work. But, to make assurance doubly sure, let us compare a whole chapter of Keith with a whole dissertation of the bishop's—we select that of Nineveh as the *shortest* and most suitable to our limits. The *identity* of the texts and topics, and consequently of the *substance* of the essays on both sides, will be best shown by exhibiting on the one hand *all* the quotations, whether from scripture or profane writers, made by Doctor Keith, and on the other the similar quotations which are to be found in Newton's chapter of Nineveh:—

	Keith, c. vi. § 1.		Newton's Dissertation, ix.
Diodorus Siculus.			
Lib. ii.	p. 229	The same quotations in Newton respectively.	p. 134
Ibid.	229		134
Ibid.	229		133
Ibid.	230		132

* A small circumstance leads us to doubt Dr. Keith's having himself consulted Josephus *in the original*. In those parts of his work which are more directly borrowed from Bishop Newton, the references to Josephus are made, *as in the Bishop's work*, in *Latin*—'*De Bello Judaico*' (see pp. 53, 59). When Dr. Keith, in a part of the work which is *his own*—being that which mentions *recent* travellers—has occasion to mention Josephus, the reference is in *English*,—'*Josephus, of the War*' (see pp. 118, 119).

Keith.		Newton's Observations, &c.
Keith. Lat. Trans.		
Dec. 2[illegible]	1 251.	Same quotation in Newton. 1. 237
		[illegible] with a reference to the [illegible] which [illegible] and not the text as mis-quoted by Keith.
Same.		
[illegible]	[illegible]	134
[illegible]	[illegible]	Same quotations in Newton. 136
[illegible]	[illegible]	133
[illegible]	250	No such reference in Newton—and for a good reason—viz. that neither in his text, nor in Keith's is there any allusion to Daniel ii. 2.
[illegible]	250	135
[illegible]	250	Same quotations 135
[illegible]	250	Newton quotes i. 1 and [illegible] but does not quote ii.
[illegible]	250	Same quotation in Newton 135
[illegible]		These three quotations are to be found in Newton, i. 238, where the passage is quoted in his text, but it is not quoted at all in the text of Keith, who has cited the reference without quoting the passage.
[illegible]	250	
Same.		
[illegible]		135
[illegible]		Same quotations in Newton. 136
[illegible]		135

These are the whole of the quotations and references made by Dr Keith from the Scriptures of the Gentiles, and we see that many of them are not to be found in Newton. Of these last, one is his first verse of Nahum [illegible] which the bishop does not specifically quote, though he does verses 5 and [illegible] at each side of it. The other is not to be found in Newton, because it is clearly a mistake of Keith's, who makes the reference but gives no corresponding text.

This would be apparent be sufficient evidence that Keith borrowed his materials of his chapter from Newton: but we can here again carry the proof a little higher by exhibiting some verbal

Here we see that Dr. Keith employs, in his text and without any reference or marks of quotation, the very words of Bishop Newton's own translations of Diodorus and Lucian. Had Dr. Keith been writing from his own stores, he might have quoted Diodorus and Lucian, but it is impossible that he could have quoted them in the identical words of Bishop Newton's version. *Two* words, indeed, in the last extract, are changed. Dr. Keith has substituted '*testified*' for '*affirms*,' and '*vestige*' for '*footstep*,'—but even for these variations he may be indebted to the bishop, who talks in the next line of Lucian's '*testimony*;' and in the latter passage, after giving '*footstep*' in the text, he adds in a foot note, out of his superabundant accuracy, the Greek word ἴχνος, and the Latin *vestigium*—by which Dr. Keith was probably enabled to make these *important* alterations. We shall add another instance of Dr. Keith's desire to make—when it does not cost any great expense of learning or study—variations from his model. Towards the conclusion of the Dissertation on Nineveh, the bishop quotes the old travellers Thevenot and Tavernier and the geographer Salmon, as to the ruins still existing along the banks of the Tigris, 'ruins of great extent,' 'heaps of rubbish for a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns,' 'heaps of rubbish almost a league along the Tigris over against Mosul, which people imagine to be the remains of this great city.' Instead of these Dr. Keith *substitutes* (what it would be better if he had *added*) the account of the recent traveller Buckingham, of 'the appearances of mounds and ruins extending for ten miles, and widely spread, and seeming to be the wreck of former buildings.' The meaning is obviously the same, but the *introduction* of Mr. Buckingham's name and the *suppression* of the others gave a little air of novelty and originality to Dr. Keith's compilation. There are a variety of other points in this remarkable chapter, which might be quoted to the same conclusion, were it not a waste of time and space to add to the proofs already accumulated; but there is one final circumstance which proves so clearly the uncandid and deceptive spirit in which the whole matter has been dealt with, that we cannot omit it. Dr. Keith thinks proper to conclude this chapter with an *acknowledged* quotation (the FIRST that occurs* in the work) from Newton—

'Such an utter end has been made of it.....and such is the truth of the divine prediction' (p. 232):—

to which he appends this note,—

'See Bishop Newton's Dissertations.'

* There are, as we have before stated, in the subsequent half of Dr. Keith's work five or six other references to Bishop Newton, but they are in the same style of acknowledging a trifling obligation to conceal or negative a greater one. Some of these instances are very gross, but we have not room to expose them.

Why

Why should Dr. Keith, who had not hitherto acknowledged any [illegible] his innumerable and substantial obligations to Newton, have thought it necessary to distinguish this general observation, which would apply to every page of both the books as well as to *Nineveh?* [illegible]—if it should be thereafter discovered [illegible] he had borrowed every fact, every [illegible] and every reference, from Bishop [illegible] he might be able to say in his defence that, 'forsooth, [illegible] concealing it, that he actually referred [illegible] Bishop Newton's Dissertations?' If he should now [illegible] first, that he only refers to [illegible] we have quoted, and that, al- [illegible] with great display of minute [illegible] Newton always furnishing [illegible] to any of his six *quotations* [illegible] have led to examination—com- [illegible] meant by this note to avow [illegible] mere passage quoted, why [illegible] not do the same justice on [illegible] which he has borrowed from the [illegible] his preface, affect to be [illegible] Dissertations' ever ex- [illegible] Appendix, 'The preceding [illegible] space which *writers on pro-* [illegible] p. 373,) when, in point of [illegible] occupy a space which Bishop New- [illegible] that, except geographical facts [illegible] Dr. Keith may be said to [illegible] a new quotation, a new illus- [illegible] expression?

Dr. Keith had undertaken was highly desirable? Even then we should have said that his work had still retained much of what might be considered most objectionable in Newton, but we could have raised no charge of unfair dealing towards his predecessor; and we should have been able with *unmixed* pleasure to state, that in the only part of Dr. Keith's work which can be fairly considered as his own, the selection of modern testimonies has been performed with considerable diligence and success; and we cannot but deplore the weakness by which he appears to have been led to tarnish his real merit by endeavouring to appropriate to himself what not only does not belong to him, but is the undoubted property of another. Detection was so probable, nay, so certain, (though it seems to have been more tardy than might have been expected,) that we do not understand how a man of common prudence (even throwing out of consideration all higher motives) could have ventured on such an attempt; and we cannot help still indulging a hope that there may be—though we have failed to discover it—some less disagreeable explanation of the matter. Nothing could give us more pleasure than to find ourselves mistaken; we have, as we went along, stated (to use a colloquial but very appropriate phrase) *chapter and verse* for our assertions. We hope and believe that we have not overlooked any evidence which could lead to a different conclusion—if we unfortunately have, and if Dr. Keith can show that we have done him injustice, we shall be most anxious and most active to take every possible means of repairing it.

From this very unpleasant preliminary discussion we turn with pleasure to the main question, and rejoice to see added to Bishop Newton's already convincing evidences of the truth of Christianity through the means of prophecy, the very curious and surprising testimony of modern travellers, and the corroboration of the Bishop's beautiful expression, (the origin of which Dr. Keith attempts to smother in '*it has been said,*') that prophecy is '*a growing evidence.*' Assuredly it is extraordinary and most satisfactory that in these days, when it seems from mundane circumstances particularly needed, we should find an accumulation of *new* proofs of the truth of prophecy—and therefore of miracles—and therefore of the Christian religion, which seventy years ago Bishop Newton could not have imagined; but which are nevertheless as true and as certain as any common geographical fact, and which seem calculated to enlist alike the adventurous amusement of travellers, and the sedentary curiosity of the literary world, in the great cause of Revealed Religion. We know not how it may be with others, but we confess that we have felt more surprise, delight, and conviction, in examining the accounts which the travels of Burckhardt, Mangles, Irby, Legh, and Laborde, have so recently given of

[illegible]

Hume announced, in his 'Essay on Miracles,' that he had *discovered* a decisive and infallible test for *trying*—that is, as he meant, for *destroying*—the credibility of miracles.

'I flatter myself,' he says, 'that I have discovered an argument of a like [decisive] nature, which, if just, will, with the wise and learned, be an everlasting check to all kinds of superstitious credulity, and consequently be useful as long as the world endures.'

And the argument thus ostentatiously produced is,—

'*That no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish.*'—*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 123.

In reply—we must begin by observing Mr. Hume's total omission of the distinguishing feature of the Christian argument—namely, that the abstract credibility of a miracle must depend, in a great degree, on the alleged occasion. A miracle performed for no object, or for a wholly inadequate one, even the evidence of our own senses would hardly induce us to believe: but such and so great objects as were to be effected by the Christian revelation—reason, human reason, must admit to have been worthy of the Divine interposition. But, not to pursue this higher and more spiritual view of the case, we will consent to argue it on Mr. Hume's own narrow grounds and by his own cold rules of logic; and we ask whether this vaunted axiom of his be anything else than the old question of the *balance of evidence?* All questions of testimony (whether concerning miracles or not) must be decided by preponderance. A miracle is, from its very essence, contrary to our experience of the laws of nature; and to be believed, must be supported by evidence (not, as Mr. Hume loosely and insidiously says, *more miraculous*, but) more convincing to the mind than general experience.

It may be wondered how a man of Mr. Hume's sagacity should have mistaken the disfiguring an old argument for the discovery of a new one; for, except the improper use of the words '*more miraculous*' for '*of greater weight*,' there is nothing novel even in the form of the proposition.* But the truth, we fear, is, that Mr. Hume, blinded or seduced by his *anti-Christian* bigotry, endeavoured, by the use of a vague and improper term, to convert an indisputable truth into an infidel sophism. In the first place, the term '*more miraculous*' is a strange solecism in the mouth of a dialectitian. Can there be, strictly speaking—and in such a discussion a reasoner cannot be too strict in his expressions—can there be *degrees* in the *miraculous?* A miracle may be justly called *greater* or *less* in reference to its circumstances or its consequences—as the *Resurrection* of our Saviour may be said to be a

* And even that is not new; for P. A. (Pierre Anet) had said, in his '*Supernaturals examined*,' that *nothing could prove a miracle, but a miracle.*

greater

greater miracle—greater in its circumstances and consequences—than his walking on the waters; but no one supernatural interposition of God can be in its essence *more miraculous* than another. A miracle is a miracle, and can be neither more nor less. Mr. Hume must have been well aware of this, but he used this form of expression with the same *mala fides* which runs through the whole essay: for when he requires, in proof of a miracle, something '*more miraculous*,' he requires what cannot be; and therefore unfairly jumps to a conclusion that there never was, nor ever can be, any such thing as a miracle: whereas if he had said that the evidence to establish a miracle must be *more convincing* than the evidence against it which is the real meaning of the proposition—he would have left the question just where he found it, and on the ground where every Christian is ready to discuss it. But this verbal sophism was not Mr. Hume's sole object in thus framing his proposition: he had another, and (as he thought) a deeper—but which we think almost as shallow, and certainly equally inconclusive. When he requires, for the truth of a miracle, evidence whose falsehood should be *more*, or even *equally* miraculous, he confounds two very different meanings, and again requires what, strictly speaking, never can be. The evidence *against* any miracle is material *physical* arising out of the fixed and (except in the supposed case) immutable laws of nature. But the evidence *for* a miracle must be altogether of a different kind: it can only be an accumulation of human testimony, which, however high we may suppose it to be carried, even if it should rise to a moral certainty, can never attain to what—in strictness—can be termed *miraculous*.

Mr. Hume, therefore, requires a *physical certainty* in a case,

have been, like the *physical* world, one complete and unerring mechanism ;—but *as* he has been pleased to constitute us—with freedom of action—with reason to guide and conscience to control us—and finally, with an innate expectation (approaching to, yet short of absolute certainty) of a future and immortal state of retribution—it is clear that it would be totally *inconsistent* and *irreconcilable* with our *present natures*, that we should have any *physical* certainty in *moral* or *spiritual* matters,—which would indeed cease to be moral or spiritual, if they could be reduced to that kind of standard which Mr. Hume's doctrine would establish.

We have felt it to be our duty to make these few *general* observations on Mr. Hume's theory, (argument we can no longer call it,) before we could, satisfactorily to our own feelings, enter on the particular views of the subject suggested by the new matter in Dr. Keith's book, which will, we think, be found to overturn in a very special and remarkable way both Mr. Hume's original proposition, and an equally important corollary which, towards the end of his Essay, he derives from it, and to which we must advert.

After having applied his alleged infallible rule to disprove various prodigies mentioned in profane history, and by implication the miracles recorded in the Old and New Testaments, Mr. Hume proceeds :—

'What we have said of *miracles* may be applied without any variation to *prophecies ;* and, indeed, *all prophecies are real miracles*, and as such only can be admitted as proofs of any revelation. If it did not exceed the capacity of human nature to forestall future events, it would be absurd to apply any prophecy as an argument for a divine mission or authority from heaven—so that, upon the whole, *we may conclude*, that the *Christian religion* was not only at first attended by miracles, but even at this day cannot be believed by any reasonable person without one. Mere reason is insufficient to convince us of its veracity, and whoever is moved by FAITH to assent to it is conscious of a *continual miracle in his own person*, which subverts all the principles of his understanding, and gives him a determination to believe what is most contrary to custom and practice.'—*Essays*, vol. i. p. 139.

On the latter part of this extract we must observe, that to *conclude* an essay pretending to be argumentative, and on the most solemn subject, by a *sneer*, is neither good logic, good taste, nor fair dealing. As to the assertion that 'mere *reason* is insufficient to convince us of the veracity of the Christian religion,' it is not merely a *petitio principii*, but, as we have already hinted—for we do not pretend to have developed the subject—*false in fact ;* for it is to suit our mental capacities that the evidences of Christianity are so clear, and no clearer—clear enough to engage, occupy, and

convince

[illegible] convince the mind, but not so absolutely and indubitably established as to leave the greatest faculty God has given us—our reason—*nothing to do.* Fixed and irresistible certainty on the subject of religion would involve fixed and irresistible certainty on all moral and intellectual subjects, and, by inevitable conclusion, on all thoughts and all actions whatsoever; and so—as we have already said—would be wholly inconsistent with the *reasoning* [illegible] to which Mr. Hume so confidently and so illogically appeals: the *truth*, to which he seems as subverting all the principles of the [illegible] on the contrary, as we believe every Christian [illegible] intellectual exercise, humbly and honestly [illegible] the knowledge of God, through the various [illegible] consistent to give us of his existence and attributes.

[illegible] part of his extract—that which relates [illegible] more immediate business lies. When Mr. [illegible] messages he could have had no idea that it [illegible] system, and a refutation, too, [illegible] against which his Essay was [illegible] *permanent and* [illegible] because he *thought they were im-* [illegible] complete and perfect, performed [illegible] assents, and we concur, it is [illegible] evidence; but it had [illegible] *pieces of miracles*—namely, Pro- [illegible] might possibly remain, and, if pro- [illegible] pieces of evidence be required, [illegible] principle, [illegible] the work of the whole doctrine of Miracles, of which he confesses

altered,) we cannot ascertain; but we suspect, from all the circumstances, that Mr. Hume's *learned* example was taken at second hand from Voltaire: be that as it may, they both very uncandidly conceal some important observations of Tacitus, which very essentially *qualify* his statement of the fact, and afford a safe clue to unravel the supposed mystery. At the time of these events, the power of the Emperor Vitellius was in its last agonies, and the ambitious and crafty Vespasian was *watching* at Alexandria the course of events, and preparing to assert, when the occasion should offer, *his claim to the imperial purple.* Is it wonderful, therefore, that *at such a time*

'*many* miracles should have happened by which the *favour of heaven and a certain inclination of the divinity towards Vespasian might be shown.*'—*Tacitus*, Hist. iv. § 81.

Not satisfied with this acute suggestion, Tacitus adds, that when, after some reluctance, Vespasian consented to try the experiment on the patients, he did so in the confidence that

'his FORTUNE was now omnipotent over all obstacles, and that nothing was incredible or impossible to him.'—*Ibid.*

What then was this but, evidently, one of those tricks by which an artful man deludes an ignorant and superstitious people to acquiesce or assist in the projects of his ambition? And why did not Voltaire and Mr. Hume proceed to relate what Tacitus *immediately* adds, and what must satisfy even the most ordinary intellect of the juggling game which Vespasian was playing?

'By this circumstance [the cure of the two men] Vespasian's desire to visit the temple of Serapis, for the purpose of consulting the deity on *the affairs of the empire*, was much increased. He ordered all persons to be kept at a distance from the temple, which he entered alone, and after his devotions to the god, he looked behind him, and saw one *Basilides*, a man of consequence amongst the Egyptians. On coming out, he asked who had seen Basilides.—No one! and it, on further inquiry, appeared that at this very time Basilides was in a sick bed eighty miles distant from Alexandria. Thence Vespasian interpreted that he had had a divine vision, and from the *name* of the man [*Basilides—kingly*—from βασιλευς] *he augured of the success of* HIS ATTEMPT ON THE EMPIRE.'—*Ibid.* § 82.

Tacitus places all these miracles and their motives together and in the same category. Why did Voltaire and Hume suppress the latter? Why did they not produce it as an equally *well-attested* miracle—which it is? Why when, in corroboration of Tacitus, both these sceptics cite Suetonius's testimony to the same stories, why do they conceal that Suetonius describes Vespasian as affecting to have been almost from his childhood a *miracle-monger*, and quotes several ridiculous instances, which shadowed forth—as Vespasian

[illegible]—[illegible] *greatness?** [illegible] would be but such an [illegible] their object. [illegible] his Essay in a [illegible] first *miracles*, [illegible] *and priority* of so [illegible] the historian— [illegible] *antiquity*—why [illegible] observations [illegible] operated on Ves- [illegible] us main of *second-* [illegible] that *venerable* [illegible] time, at least, [illegible] might) to the

[illegible] same. within two [illegible] prophecy, that the very [illegible] recollection an [illegible] which Vespasian [illegible] destruction of Je- [illegible] of that event, [illegible]—the *ipsissima* [illegible] is a mere matter [illegible] Vespasian's cure of [illegible] the cases themselves [illegible] man and the cripple [illegible] our own history [illegible] While it is a fact [illegible] doubt or deception, that the *Septuagint*

wrath against particular cities, in which, as was natural, *neighbouring* nations were either expressly or by implication announced as the instruments of divine vengeance. But in *this* case it was denounced that—

'The Lord shall bring a nation against thee *from afar*, from the *ends of the earth*—as the *eagle* flieth—a nation *whose tongue thou shalt not understand*—a *nation of fierce countenance.*'—Deut. xxviii. 49.

This description could apply to none of the neighbours or usual enemies of the Jews—nor to the Asiatic states, nor to the Egyptians, nor even to the Greeks; in short, it could only apply to the ROMANS—whose warriors came—as the *eagle*—'*the standard of their armies*'—flieth—from the *ends of the earth*—from Gaul and Britain, to the plains of Judea. The vast extent of the Roman empire, and wide distribution of its forces, would have been quite sufficient to justify the prophetic description of men coming from the *ends of the earth;* and indeed Josephus himself, in commencing his account of the Judean war, gives only *such* a general description of the invading army; for, after a detail of their admirable order and martial appearance,—he adds, 'with such discipline and such men, what marvel is it if their empire extends in the east unto the Euphrates, in the west unto the Ocean?' &c. (b. iii. c. 3); but, a *mere accident* has corroborated to posterity the *minute* accuracy of the prophecy—for we find, by an *incidental* remark of Tacitus relative to a different time and subject, that one, *at least*, of the legions employed against Jerusalem—the celebrated 10th—must have been actually withdrawn from Spain and Gaul for that service, (compare Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. § 68 and v. § 1,) and it is notorious that Vespasian and Titus themselves (and probably many of their officers and troops) were fresh from a campaign in Britain—*toto divisos orbe Britannos*—the *ends of the earth.*

The prophecy having thus described the *enemy*, then proceeds to specify the *nature* of the war in which this formidable foe is to assail them:—

'He shall *besiege* thee in *all thy gates* until thy *high and fenced walls* come down wherein thou trustedst.'—*Ibid.* v. 52.

Thus a SIEGE is predicted, and not an ordinary siege, but a *blockade of all the gates*—and this was accomplished by a work so prodigious, that Josephus scruples not to attribute it to the direct assistance of God—a wall of circumvallation round the whole capital, supported by detached forts, and other auxiliary works: until at last, after the most obstinate defence recorded in the annals of the world, their *high and fenced wall*—in which they had so *trusted* as to reject every overture of peace and pardon—*came down.*

 But

[illegible] beyond the *general features* of the [illegible] most remarkable *peculiarities*, such [illegible] pronounced—and it even details [illegible] never probably has occurred in [illegible]

[illegible] which would not adventure to set [illegible] *tenderness and tenderness*, [illegible] and towards the children [illegible] want of all (other things) [illegible] wherewith thine enemies [illegible] xxvii. 56, 57.

[illegible] these dreadful denunciations

[illegible] the extremities to [illegible] heard of before, either [illegible] that I would [illegible] had I not many [illegible] for not fully recount- [illegible] certain woman, of a [illegible] —here follow her [illegible] her sufferings] [illegible] which nature [illegible] *her young* [illegible] and *he is*—the [illegible] and 5.

[illegible] that Titus

[illegible] guilt. [illegible] would hurt [illegible] ruins of

fallacy of his original proposition, and the *suppressio veri*—the *bad faith* of his relation of the facts he adduced; and as we do not remember to have seen either* adequately exposed, we felt it our duty to submit them, even thus cursorily, to the attention of our readers. We trust we shall also be excused for observing a most important circumstance in the account of the siege of Jerusalem given by Tacitus, which has been hitherto only noticed as an error on the part of the historian; whereas, in our judgment, the error, such as it is, affords another of those unpremeditated and accidental confirmations of divine prophecy, which neither could have been imagined by any ingenuity—nor produced by any fraud —nor, when produced, can be resisted by any candid mind. After relating the portents and prodigies which announced the ruin of the city, the historian says that these signs affrighted only the better informed few—but that the great mass of the nation, buoyed up by ancient prophecies, were confident of ultimate victory—

'The multitude,' he says, 'relied upon an ancient prophecy, contained, as they believed, in books kept by the priests, by which it was foretold, that in this very juncture the power of the *East* should prevail over the nations, and a race of men would go forth from Judea, to extend their dominion over the rest of the world. The prediction, however, though couched in ambiguous terms, related to Vespasian and his son Titus.'—*Hist.* v. 13.

Upon this, some over-zealous commentators (see, for instance, Brotier, iv. 314, and Murphy, iii. 55) accuse Tacitus—as well as Josephus, who makes a similar statement—of base flattery to the Flavian emperors, and of a gross mistake, in thus referring to Vespasian and Titus a prophecy which evidently designated our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Now a consideration of the case will acquit the honest and sagacious historian of flattery, and will even reduce his error to a very slight and (in a foreigner) very venial ambiguity, while the very ambiguity confirms his own general veracity, and the truth of the scriptural accounts. In the first place, the statement of Tacitus corroborates by profane evidence the fact—so clear from other sources—that in the *holy books* preserved from a *remote antiquity* by the Jewish priesthood, there were prophetic announcements relating—*as all parties agreed*, though they might differ as to particular interpretations—to the *then existing circumstances* of Jerusalem;—secondly, it shows that one of those prophecies was that, *about this period*, there should spread from Judea a dominion over the affairs of the

* Since the above was written, we find that the fallacy of Hume's proposition was exposed much in the same sense, but more elaborately and infinitely more ably than we have the power to do, by the learned and excellent Dr. Elrington, now Bishop of Ferns, in a Sermon printed in 1794; which, on every account, ought to be republished.

rest of the world—(*Judeâ profecti rerum potirentur;*)—thirdly, that some predictions, from which the bigoted and deluded Jews anticipated military success, were really announcements of the Roman triumphs. Now all these three important statements are undeniably true. The error of Tacitus—the slight error—and which may have been the error of the Jews themselves, is this, that in alluding to the long series of prophecies which the sacred books contain, those relating to the coming of the Messiah and the spread of his religion were confounded with those which related to the destruction of the city. The prophecies, written 1500 years before, mentioned two events *nearly* contemporaneous, which are so mixed together in the original scriptures that, before they occurred, they must have been inseparable by any human interpreter—and we now know, in point of fact, that they were intimately connected. Tacitus, receiving the statement in the mass, and seeing that no Judean conqueror had appeared, affirms all that *he* could with truth have stated—namely, that of the prophecy—*that* part was accomplished which announced the victories of Vespasian and Titus. So that, in what he rejects and in what he affirms, Tacitus equally supports the truth of the Christian revelation—both the prophecies are mentioned—but they *did not* allude, as the Jews expected, to a conqueror whose kingdom should be of this world; and they *did* allude—as the besotted Jews would *not* believe—to the destruction of Jerusalem. We know not whether this may be thought a digression; but it is at least one which, even if the veracity and judgment of the Roman historian only were at stake, we think our readers would excuse us for making.

The admission (if we may so call an insidious suggestion) made

course they themselves had pointed out, they would have found, even in the then state of geographical knowledge, sufficient evidence to have shaken to its foundations, if not utterly to overthrow, their main design.

It must be admitted, that the general darkness and doubt which did and—of their very essence—must obscure the prophetic visions, rendered them less formidable to the infidel sophist than the miraculous *facts* of sacred history. Originally, all prophecy must have been dark; a considerable proportion of it still remains so, and some will probably not become clearly intelligible till the final consummation; but portions have been in every successive age accomplished, sufficient to vindicate the general scheme, and keep alive, by a stream of evidence and a *growing* testimony, the faith of mankind. One at least, and a very important class, has been, in the lapse of time, indubitably fulfilled: and we should learn from this, that the *apparent* vagueness and original obscurity of a prophecy are no conclusive reasons for disbelieving that it may be ultimately and clearly accomplished. When the denunciations against Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre were first promulgated, they seemed, no doubt, utterly incredible and impossible. That the most extensive and populous cities—built with stupendous solidity—the capitals of the most powerful nations—situated in the most fertile regions, and in the centre and thoroughfare of the inhabited earth, and flourishing, as Burke says, '*in luce Asiæ*, in the midst of the then noonday splendour of the then civilized world'—should be all swept away, and so utterly annihilated, that their very ruins should perish—*this* must have appeared an absurd and monstrous prediction: yet it has come to pass; and human learning and ingenuity have failed to discover any other cause for these astonishing changes than that such was the *will of God!* We may add also, that, as far as the remoteness of the time and the extent of the destruction have allowed any details to reach us, they have been brought about by the means and in the manner—at first obscurely, but now plainly—foretold; and every hint that profane history supplies, and every fact that modern travellers discover, contribute to the confirmation of the very smallest details of the original predictions. And it is not the least part of the miracle that the *Scriptures* themselves, which record these original predictions, and which were so perishable in their material nature, should have survived the walls of Nineveh, the towers of Babylon, and the moles of Tyre.

Nor is it the *works of man* only that thus testify by their ruin—*perfulgent eo ipso quod non videantur*—the divine truth; the very *features of Nature* herself have accommodated themselves to the most improbable predictions; the prophetic curses of barrenness, desolation,

intelligible. Edom, or Idumæa, was a country not inferior in natural beauty and fertility to the Land of Promise itself: it was rich with the *fatness of the earth* and the *dews of heaven*.—(Gen. xxvii. 39.) It was celebrated for its *fields and vineyards*, and its abundant *wells*—(Numb. xx. 17)—the great source of comfort and fertility in those regions. It possessed herds and flocks in abundance, (Gen. xxxvi. 6.) and became so powerful, that it waged war with Judea, and after a long struggle established its independence—even, says the author of the Chronicles, 'unto his day.' The Roman poets celebrated one specimen of its luxuriant vegetation. Virgil, in his *Georgics*, would have selected no mean and barren region as the parent of his triumphal palms.

'Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.'—Geor. iii. 12.

Nor is it unworthy of our notice that, in almost the same passage in which he thus celebrates the glories of Idumæa, he mentions the *Britons* as *naked* barbarians (ib. l. 25). Lucan also, in his enumeration of Pompey's allies, distinguishes Idumæa among the most important states of the Syrian region; and again, with an allusion which implies the fertility of its soil—

——'Damascus,
Gazaque, et arbusto *palmarum dives Idume*,
Et Tyros instabilis, pretiosaque murice Sidon.'—Phar. iii. 215.

Under the Cæsars the country continued to be remarkable for its fertility, and the capital for its commerce; and we shall see by and by, from very unexpected evidence, that it was, to a comparatively late period, in a state of great wealth, population, and civilization. Now hear what—while its fertility was at its height, its prosperity still in progress, and *long before* it had reached the magnificence it afterwards attained—hear what the Prophets denounced against it—

But first we must notice (which Dr. Keith has not done) the primal cause of the denunciation. We find in that beautiful lamentation of Israel '*By the waters of Babylon*' (Psalm cxxxvii.) that the Edomites instigated Nebuchadnezzar to the utter destruction of Jerusalem, and insulted the misery of their neighbours and relatives. 'Remember,' exclaims the Psalmist, 'Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of [the trouble of] Jerusalem, how they said, *Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!*'

This vague and transient allusion is, as we shall see, pregnant with meaning; the Lord *did* remember the ingratitude and cruelty of Edom, on this and *on repeated subsequent occasions*, and '*recompensed*' her inveterate obstinacy and disobedience by the desolation she had invoked upon others.

'*Because Edom hath dealt against the house of Judah, therefore, saith*

desolation.
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Assyria, a
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Now mark the sequel. Volney was the first of modern writers to notice the tract formerly called Edom—he did not pass through it—for this once great thoroughfare was no longer practicable.

'No traveller,' he says, 'has yet visited it, but it well merits such an attention, for, from the report of the Arabs, there are to the south-east of the Red Sea, within three days' journey, upwards of thirty ruined towns absolutely deserted' (*thy cities shall be desolate*). 'The Arabs sometimes make use of the ruins to fold their cattle, but in general avoid them on account of the *enormous scorpions**. We cannot be surprised at these traces of ancient population, when we recollect that these districts enjoyed a considerable share of the commerce of Arabia and India.'—*Volney*, ap. *Keith.*

But now not even a traveller can visit Idumæa without extreme difficulty and danger—(*and none shall pass through it*). Volney did not pass through it any more than other subsequent travellers who attest its utter desolation. Burckhardt and Seetzen, however, did: 'they are,' says Dr. Keith, 'the only travellers who as yet have passed through it, and they—according to the prophecy—have been *cut off.*' We cannot either assent to or approve of Dr. Keith's carrying the *letter* of the prophecy so far as to see in the fate of Burckhardt and Seetzen—the only persons who, as he chooses to say, passed through—the *continued* effect of the prophecy. Burckhardt and Seetzen *passed through* it no more than their successors have done, and they died long after in distant countries; the words evidently have no such meaning as Dr. Keith would strain them to—they applied to the Edomites, and have *been accomplished:*—and, once for all we say, and this will answer many of Dr. Keith's observations, that it would not in our opinion at all affect the accuracy of the prophecy, if the valley of Edom were *hereafter* to become—as it perhaps may—as frequented by travellers as the valley of Chamouni. Burckhardt's account, however, does certainly corroborate the words of the prophecy down to very minute particulars. He describes the ruins of many large and some stately towns, scattered through a country which may be with great propriety called *a stony desert*—although susceptible of culture—and which must have been once thickly inhabited. 'At present, all this country is a *desert*, and Maan (*Temân*) is the only inhabited place in it' (Burckhardt, p. 431 *et seq.*)—(I *will make it desolate from Teman*). In the centre of this desert, the geographers of antiquity had led us to suppose that *Sela* (by the Greeks called *Petra*, both signifying the ROCK), the capital of

* Creatures, probably, of the same class as those translated *dragons, serpents, fiery serpents.*—Is. xxxiv. 15; Numb. xxi. 6; Deut. viii. 15. Laborde states that they are *still* called *fiery scorpions*, from the extreme inflammation caused by their bite. How every little detail corroborates the Scriptures!

Idumæa,

imagined
Barck-
serious
enor-
wrought
known.
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of
height
the

or rather hills, then diverge on either side, and leave an oblong space, where once stood the metropolis of Edom, *deceived by its terribleness*, where now lies a waste of ruins, encircled on every side, save on the north-east alone, by stupendous cliffs, which still show how the pride and labour of art tried there to vie with the sublimity of nature.

'Tombs present themselves, not only in every avenue to the city, and upon every precipice that surrounds it, but even intermixed almost promiscuously with its public and domestic edifices; the natural features of the defile grew more and more imposing at every step, and the excavations and sculpture more frequent on both sides, till it presented at last a continued street of tombs. The base of the cliffs wrought out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pedestals, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface; flights of steps chiselled out of the rock; grottos in great numbers, which are certainly not sepulchral; some excavated residences of large dimensions, (in one of which is a single chamber, sixty feet in length, and of a breadth proportioned;) many other dwellings of inferior note, particularly abundant in one defile leading to the city, the steep sides of which contain a sort of excavated suburb, accessible by flights of steps; niches, sometimes thirty feet in excavated height, with altars for votive offerings, or with pyramids, columns, or obelisks; a bridge across a chasm now apparently inaccessible; some small pyramids hewn out of the rock on the summit of the heights; horizontal grooves, for the conveyance of water, cut in the face of the rock, and even across the architectural fronts of some of the excavations; and, in short, "the rocks hollowed out into innumerable chambers of different dimensions, whose entrances are variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated with every imaginable order of architecture"—all united, not only form one of the most singular scenes that the eye of man ever looked upon, or the imagination painted—a group of wonders perhaps unparalleled in their kind—but also give indubitable proof, both that in the land of Edom there was a city where human ingenuity, and energy, and power, must have been exerted for many ages, and to so great a degree as to have well entitled it to be noted for its strength or *terribleness*, and that the description given of it by the prophets of Israel was *as strictly literal as the prediction respecting it is true.* "The barren state of the country, together with the desolate condition of the city, without a single human being living near it, seem," in the words of those who were spectators of the scene, "strongly to verify the judgment denounced against it." *O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock*, &c. —*also Edom shall be a desolation*, &c.'—*Irby and Mangles*, p. 405; *Keith*, pp. 186-190.

Nor are there wanting some slighter touches to complete the prophetic picture—

'The screaming of the eagles, hawks, and *owls*, which were soaring above their heads in considerable numbers, seemingly annoyed at any one

the prophecies in circumstances which had not occurred to former travellers, nor of course to Dr. Keith. The prophet had, as a contrast to the predicted desolation, recorded the antecedent civil organization of Edom: '*They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing.*' Now M. Laborde, not dreaming of this text, proves from profane history that in this capital 'there existed a *king* and ministers, *princes and nobles*, and a *government* so regular as even to have raised and paid a kind of subsidiary force; in short, the kingdom presented a long-established *civil and military organization.*'—*Intr.* p. 8. The vague text, 'I shall make thee *despised among men*,' does not seem to have occurred to M. Laborde, when he makes the following involuntary commentary upon it: 'The Arabs give to one of these ruins a ridiculous and indecent name—an insult which is of a piece with the general destruction—to prove the fragility of human works, there was only wanted, in addition to the injuries of time, *the derision of men.*'—p. 55. Dr. Keith, with an overabundant anxiety that every, even the smallest detail of the fulfilment of all the prophecies should be visible even to this day, was a little disconcerted that the travellers did not see '*nettles and brambles in the palaces;*' but he consoled himself, in lieu of 'a *direct* and *literal* fulfilment,' with the observation that the *thorny* branches of the *talh*-tree are very abundant in Idumæa. We think Dr. Keith need not have been so anxious on this point, which might have been safely taken for granted; but we are glad to be able to afford him *direct and literal* evidence from M. Laborde's late *livraisons*, that these ruined palaces are 'overgrown with nettles and brambles.'—pp. 55-58. These are trivial matters compared with the great features of the case, but they are still curious and interesting.

But there is one much more important circumstance which has occurred to us, and which seems to carry the evidence to the highest possible point of satisfaction—the works, as Dr. Keith hints, and as appears in the plates, are evidently the works of many ages, from the primitive dwellers in the rock down to the days of Adrian; and perhaps some sceptic may say that works of the days of Adrian would rather impugn the prophecy, whose completion might have been expected at an earlier period. The objection would not be worth much—for it is clear that *whatever intermediate vicissitudes the city and nation may have suffered*—and the prophecies point to *many*—the *final* fulfilment could only be appropriated to the period when Edom was finally abandoned to a '*perpetual desolation from which her cities should not return*,—(Ezek. *ib.*) When they *should call their nobles and there should be none, and all her princes be nothing.*—(Is. *ib.*) *When there should be no civil government*—

[illegible]

[illegible] *magnum nobis-*
[illegible] *will a son*
[illegible] *would ex-*
[illegible] *mptness.*—

[illegible] every
[illegible] circumstances, and
[illegible] prediction
[illegible]

[illegible] return and
[illegible] THEY SHALL
[illegible] *and you*
[illegible] Israel!"—

[illegible] preceded?
[illegible] or, but abso-
[illegible] should come when
[illegible] should be magnified—
[illegible] Israel—the borders
[illegible] good. What human
[illegible] aware of the
[illegible] of these
[illegible] affect my defi-
[illegible] of Malachi?
[illegible] a miracle?—
[illegible] demonstration,
[illegible] absolutely
[illegible] *borders of*

[illegible] perfect re-

pendent Denomination, containing Remarks on the Principles of that Sect, and the Author's Reasons for leaving it and conforming to the Church of England. By L. S. E. Third Edition. London. 1833.

4. *Ecclesiastical Establishments not inconsistent with Christianity, with a particular view to some of the leading objections of the modern Dissenters.* By William Hull. London. 1834.
5. *Letter to the Right Hon. Earl Grey, containing a Vindication of the Established Church.* By a Dissenting Minister. London. 1834.
6. *The Uses of a Standing Ministry and an Established Church.* Two Sermons. By Charles James Blomfield, D.D., Bishop of London. 1834.
7. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London at the Visitation in July,* 1834. By Charles James Blomfield, D.D., Lord Bishop of London.
8. *A Charge delivered in the Autumn of* 1834, *at the Visitation in Hampshire.* By W. Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor of the Diocese.

THE two works at the head of our list have forced themselves upon our notice by their common bearing on a momentous question, the practical operation of the *voluntary system* for the maintenance of a Christian ministry. The first is written by a man whose fearlessness is the surest pledge for his honesty; his style is the image of his character—rude, wild, at times coarse, but bold, strenuous, and straightforward, he utters the sentiments of strong and conscientious indignation with the native energy and homely illustration of a mind which owes more to its inborn vigour than to education. Not that the author is deficient in acquired knowledge; his views, particularly of ecclesiastical history, are extensive and just: if he does not stand alone and superior among his brethren, the parochial Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland are far better instructed than we had been accustomed to suppose. In his courage Mr. Croly does unquestionably stand alone: he is no common man who, at the risk of his professional prospects, his peace—we must, we fear, add his life—exposes the unhallowed connexion which now subsists between the Roman Catholic priest and the political demagogue, unfolds the secret mysteries of agitation, and gives such sober advice to those 'who, insulting the simplicity of the poor and their state of dependence, invest them with the robes of pretended majesty, clothe them with imaginary purple and fine linen; and raising them, by the labour of sophistry, from their humble sphere above thrones, dominations, and powers, kneel down in mock homage and hail them "*the sovereign people.*"'

'If

sequences, if we believe Mr. Croly, are the most grinding exaction, which falls, almost exclusively, upon the poor; the most violent and disgraceful altercations, previous to and even during the most solemn religious ceremonies; bartering and chaffering, to which the traffic of the buyers and sellers in the temple was decent and reverential—on one side, the systematic endeavour to drive as hard a bargain as possible for the commodity in their hands—on the other, the degradation of the most sacred rites—of the mass itself—into a privilege, the value of which depends not in the least on the *moral or religious state of the purchaser*, but on *the price that is paid.* The Lord himself (for such is the conscientious belief of the Roman Catholic) is thus actually bought and sold.

These are appalling statements. Are they borne out by the 'Parish Priest' who cannot be ignorant on the subject—and who, if he is guilty of mendacity, or even of exaggeration, has ventured all his earthly prospects in wanton hostility to that Church of which he remains, though an outcast and persecuted, yet still a faithful member? First, then, as to the general system of payment:—

'The mode of exacting clerical dues is quite arbitrary and capricious; fixedness and uniformity are out of the question. Almost everything depends upon the temper and disposition of the clergyman. There are salutary regulations in every diocese, respecting church dues as well as other points of church discipline, put forth by episcopal and synodical authority. Specific sums are laid down as the remuneration to be demanded and paid for the performance of such and such religious rites—for the celebration of marriage, or the oblation of the mass, or the half-yearly administration of the eucharist. These authorized exactions, as may be supposed, are moderate enough, and would not be at all adequate to supply the wants of an aspiring priesthood. Every priest, therefore, looking to his peculiar necessities, or to self-interest, makes the most he can of his ministry, and multiplies his exactions, without any reference to statute law or episcopal authority. Owing to this departure from fixed rules, the strangest discrepancy prevails even in the same diocese as to the church demands made upon the people.'—pp. 25, 26.

We must add the following sentences to this preliminary statement:—

'It may be right to observe that in the present defective state of things, the rich Catholics contribute in general but little to the support of their clergy. They pay nothing in proportion to their rank and means. They are extremely deficient in this respect, so that the whole burden of the priesthood, as to their support, rests, it may be said, on the shoulders of the poor, industrious, labouring classes.

'The revenue of the parish priest is derived from a variety of sources.

[illegible] and constant source [illegible] or two houses in [illegible] he holds what are [illegible] required that the fami- [illegible] among them upon [illegible] receive the holy [illegible] If increased dues [illegible] disagreeable and [illegible] Similar scenes occur [illegible] payment; while such as [illegible] in apology, are ge- [illegible] exposure. All these [illegible] *ation of two sacra-* [illegible] transforms religious [illegible] priest prices and turns [illegible] e can. This is the [illegible] people do imagine that [illegible] ession and communion. [illegible] on their minds, that [illegible] ation of payment unless [illegible] rament—that is—value [illegible]

[illegible] in the Roman Ca- [illegible] Holy, is its sanctity [illegible] administering the rite by [illegible]

[illegible] of marrying a couple, [illegible] money. This sometimes [illegible] or stipend prescribed [illegible] a moment. Indeed, all statutes respecting money matters are a mere dead letter. The

house or lodgings, and under circumstances not of a very hallowed description. One leading feature in the transaction, on the part of the priest, is to get in the customary offering, and to swell, if possible, its amount. Children are sometimes sent away without baptism, for lack of money; and women remain frequently a considerable time without being churched or purified after child-birth, (a great evil in their eyes,) because the priest has not been satisfied respecting the baptism money.'—p. 33.

The rite of extreme unction derives a peculiar importance and solemnity, in the eyes of all who believe in its efficacy, from the agonizing circumstances under which it is usually administered—it 'is considered in this country to be of the last importance; so much so, that no misfortune is accounted greater than for a poor mortal to depart this life without its reception. This rite is often administered under most distressing circumstances—amid sickness, lamentation, destitution, and want: yet money is demanded in most cases, particularly in the country; and instances occur of payment being demanded beforehand, and even of money being pocketed by the priest which had been given as alms for the relief of the dying.'—p. 34.

Other sacred rites are likewise objects of considerable gain, and give rise to contests between the secular and regular clergy.—(See pp. 36, 37.)—We conclude with the following paragraphs:—

'Other bad consequences regarding the clergy themselves arise out of the present system of church support. Many among them are constantly endeavouring to overreach and undermine one another. Every man of this description looks to his own private emolument, regardless of all covenants or agreements expressed or implied. The curate does not make a fair return to the parish priest, nor the parish priest, perhaps, to the curate; nor the curates, where a number is associated, to one another. Every man gets in what he can; and seems to think that he would be justified in appropriating the entire to himself. But this he cannot do; for he must make some return of his receipts; and this he does—but it is an arbitrary return, maimed, docked, curtailed. The consequence of all this is, that church revenue is become a mere scramble—every man is striving to seize upon a larger share, and deciding for himself in the appropriation. This is a bad state of things; it is a shameful state of clerical demoralization. Common honesty is out of the question. Nothing but lies, schemes, duplicity, false returns; so that the simple and the honest become the prey of the cunning and the crafty.

'It has been always the boast of the Roman Catholic Church, that she teaches her children to observe the laws, to respect the civil magistrate, and to do nothing inconsistent with the public peace and with individual security. The Irish Catholic priests have not this time past preached these doctrines to the people. It would be too much, perhaps, to say, that the priests themselves were the original instigators of the misguided multitude. There is no doubt that many of them acted a

gravity and seriousness which might become the subject, without compensating by either grace or point. He says—

'I am not going to make a fiction that shall look like truth, but rather to exhibit a truth, which shall look like a fiction. By many, indeed, it will be treated as fiction; for they who *do not* know it to be true will think it fiction, and they who *do* know it to be true will call it fiction.'

Passing over some minor grounds of suspicion—there is, on the whole, a kind of minuteness and circumstantiality about the book which looks like truth; the author is so completely identified with the small passions, the small jealousies, the small ambition, and the small vexations of his situation, that we are by degrees brought to believe him when he asserts—*horum pars parva fui*—

'These little things are great to little men.'

We are inclined, then, to consider this as the genuine work of an inferior man, and a wounded and disappointed one, who has nevertheless good sense enough to have become conscious of the humility of his own pretensions, and shrewdness enough to perceive much of the weakness, and self-interest, and conceit of the class into which he has been thrown; but who is grievously wanting in that deep religious feeling, that holy devotion to the cause of Christianity, which would find within itself a support and consolation for these petty miseries, as for the severer and more afflicting trials of life.

It may be a true picture, then, of what is going on in the lower regions, or rather outskirts of dissent. And it is in these outskirts that the propagation of dissent chiefly takes place—it is there that the activity of party spirit, and that of mercantile speculation, mingle with and leaven the higher motives of religious zeal and earnestness for the spiritual welfare of mankind—there, chapels multiply, which appear to add greatly to the strength and numbers of the dissenting body, but often are only the subdivisions of existing sects, which are weakened rather than increased by these secessions among their own people.* We cannot, however, accept this work as a fair or full representation of the dissenting body; we cannot believe that their leading academies for education either are, or were twenty or thirty years ago, in the deplorable state

* Several of the publications on the side of the Church have quoted these remarkable admissions from a leading dissenting journal:—'The fact is not, in Britain, as if there were an establishment on one side, and an harmonious dissent on the other, peaceably parted by some specific disagreement, the existence of which all agree to lament: but our *dissent* is itself fraught with *dissent*, and breaks, and breaks again into distinct masses, as often as any excitement, local or general, puts the body in motion.' In the same article are sentences which describe 'the multiplication of societies by division;' 'polypus churches' . . . 'the propagation of dissenterism by slips' . . 'the raising of congregations by architectural forcing glasses called chapels.'

which

have rather to moderate than to excite their liberality. This combination of happy qualities is, however, of course rare; and systems must be judged only by their operation on ordinary minds. Ordinary men, when they hold the purse-strings, will be dictatorial, exacting, parsimonious; ordinary men, whose maintenance and the provisions for their families depend on the will of those who regulate their stipends, will not preserve that independence which, in our opinion, is among the most essential qualifications of the Christian minister. We mean, of course, independence—not on that legitimate control of public opinion, which requires from every teacher of Christianity exemplary conduct, diligent devotion to duty, Christian, and therefore, necessarily, kind and conciliatory manners —the practice, in short, of all those virtues which are the inseparable fruits of the faith which he inculcates;—but that independence, which is equally indispensable, whether the Christian minister be considered as invested with a peculiarly sacred character, as designated for his office by divine influence, or merely raised above his congregation by the more careful cultivation of the mind, and more profound study of the Scriptures;—that independence which is perfectly connected with the lowliest Christian humility. A man with this frame of mind will not condescend to take the key-note of doctrine from those he is appointed to teach; will flatter no prejudice; will remonstrate against any vice or sin, even if it happen to beset the wealthiest and most influential man in the congregation; will despise, in short, every art or manœuvre, and rest his claims to the respect and attachment of the people solely on the native dignity of his character.

The dissenters certainly do themselves injustice by the bitter complaints which perpetually break out in their authorized publications against the want of liberality in their supporters, if there is not this constant collision between the wants of their ministers and the rigid economy of the congregations. They are equally unfortunate in the violent and disgraceful schisms which have become matter of public notoriety in the metropolis, and which necessarily bring their concerns under the *secular* authority of the courts of justice.

The admissions of the Dissenters as to the inseparable evils of their own system have been collected from their authorized publications, by the industry of the writers who have engaged in this controversy in different parts of the kingdom on the side of the Church. They may be found in a book, the title of which stands the third in the list at the head of our article. The author is an avowed dissenter from that dissent in which he was educated, and is now a clergyman of the Church. This volume, to the great indignation of some of the dissenting journals, has been recommended, though in guarded language, from a high quarter. It

sions; and if I read in the newspapers any account of persons being drowned in the river on Sunday, I felt rather more delight in this manifestation of a divine judgment, than rightly became a Christian and a youth. I was invariably attentive to the discourses of our pastor, but I rather think, upon recollection, that I listened to them so closely, prompted more by the vanity of being afterwards able to repeat the heads of the sermons, than by any truly serious feeling, or any desire after religious instruction.'—*Autobiography*, p. 2—4.

The reader will perceive in this specimen a certain air of caricature—which, indeed, is thrown over the whole volume; but the writer has touched one of the most unmitigated evils of religious dissent—that jealous exclusiveness which still coops up the different sects of English dissenters within their own narrow pale, and teaches them to confine all virtue, all truth, all Christian excellence to their own sect. The religious are kept, if not to their own community, at least to the narrow region of dissent; beyond this begins the '*world*'—the region of sin, of profaneness, of infidelity, at best of religious formality, and low and secular views of the Gospel. It might have been expected that the more general diffusion of knowledge—or at least the wider circle embraced by literature—would counteract this tendency to isolation in rigid and unmingling factions; but there seems some danger lest it should confirm, rather than diminish, this inveterate evil. Every political party, every religious sect, every section of a sect, has now its own literature—its quarterly, or monthly, or weekly journal: it is even beginning to have—(alas! that religion should be connected with that whose whole being is so apt to be bound up with the excitement of human passion)—its *daily press*. Of all irreligious publications (if St. Paul be right in asserting that the greatest of Christian virtues is charity) the worst is a religious newspaper. Beyond their own publications, most of the class for which they are written have neither time nor inclination, nor permission from the spiritual inquisition which rules their minds, to extend their reading. The rest of literature is enveloped in one vast index expurgatorius. Thus the line of demarcation is drawn as strongly and rigidly as ever; and that common ground on which it might be hoped that the different parties would meet, and by mutual acquaintance soften off their asperities, is almost wholly interdicted. But it is the greatest evil, as well as the greatest danger, to society, when the different classes are condensed into hard, unsocial, antagonist masses, with no ties of amity, no common feelings from friendly intercourse, to break the rude collision. If men in general would know each other better, they would hate each other less. We have been much struck by a passage in the History of the French Revolution, by the present minister, M. Thiers. He is accounting for the jealousy still entertained

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mind was very greatly shaken. This effect did not appear at once, but was developed several years after, much to my annoyance. I believe that one of the reasons why we never read Aristophanes was that he makes democracy look so exquisitely ridiculous. The difficu ty of the author could be no objection, for to our classical tutor one author was quite as easy as another, if it had but a Latin version at the bottom of the page; and we used to be very proud of reading Æschylus, Thucydides, and Longinus. The fact is, that the eminence of our classical tutor's scholarship was so great, that he could read any Greek author with a Latin version, and none without it.'—p. 37—39.

Some persons may find amusement in the account of the various congregations by which, in turn, our simple minister is received with flattering approbation, and dismissed with cold and contemptuous neglect—the clashing interests of the more wealthy managers* of the schisms which divide and subdivide the small sects—the low arts of popularity by which he endeavours to make good his ground—the unwearied labours and the baffled hopes, which exhaust his powers and depress his energies. Upon us, these things, represented with an air of truth and reality, produce only emotions of thoughtful sadness; and that sadness settles into deep melancholy, when we anticipate the possibility that this, or anything approaching to it—anything with one feature or principle like this—is to be the substitute either for the Established Church of England, or for the humbler, but in these days equally vituperated, Kirk of Scotland. The question is not, whether the whole body of dissent in this kingdom is liable to such serious exception; but, whether it is the natural tendency of the spirit of dissent, if dominant, to propagate Christianity in a form which maintains so much of its language, and even of its doctrine, with so little of its real tone or spirit.

The Bishop of London has referred, in one of the notes to his admirable sermons on Establishments, to a very striking passage in Barrow's twelfth sermon on the Independence of the Clergy.

* Mr. James, in 'The Church Member's Guide,' a work of authority among the Dissenters, indignantly asks, 'What is the Deacon of some of our communities? Not simply the laborious, indefatigable, tender-hearted dispenser of the bounties of the Church—the inspector of the poor—the comforter of the distressed. No; but the *bible of the minister, the patron of the living, and the wolf of the flock*—an individual who, thrusting himself into the seat of government, attempts to lord it over God's heritage, by dictating alike to the pastor and the members; who thinks that, in virtue of his office, his opinion is to be law in all matters of church government, whether temporal or spiritual: who, upon the least symptom of opposition to his will, frowns like a tyrant upon the spirit of rising rebellion among his slaves! Such men there have been, whose spirit of domination has produced a kind of diaconophobia (*i. e.* deacon-horror) in the minds of *many* ministers, who have suffered most wofully from their bite, and have been led to do without them rather than be worried any more. Hence it is that in some cases the *unscriptural* plan of committees has been resorted to—that the tyranny of *Lord Deacons* might be avoided.'—(Quoted by L. S. E., p. 149.)

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fully picked up, and brought to me for my own special amusement; they were all told to me in perfect confidence, and a particular injunction was given to me by the narrator, praying that I would not let them give me a moment's uneasiness on any account whatever;—they did not indeed give much uneasiness, but they would have given me less if I had never been told of them.'—*Autobiography*, p. 176.

To return, however, to more serious matters—we must quote the verdict of this author on one general effect of the voluntary system in the sphere in which he has moved. He is speaking of the restless love of change which, he asserts, prevails among the dissenting congregations:—

'I am now an old man, and I can truly say that I have seen dissenting congregations grow weary of three successions of preachers. Piety has nothing to do with it; for the truly pious of the congregation are for the most part quiet and uncomplaining, thinking more of the salvation of their souls than of the gratification of their taste. I have thought much of this matter, and have observed it long with great patience and a close attention, and I find it to be an evil inseparable from dissent, and the natural consequence of the voluntary system. A minister goes to a congregation as a suppliant: he must make himself agreeable to all, and undergo the criticisms of all; the very outset of his connexion with them places him in a humiliating attitude. When he first enters the pulpit as a candidate, the question naturally occurs to him, "Do I seek to please men?" and the answer as naturally occurs to him in the affirmative. For awhile, perhaps, he may succeed—may be intensely popular—may be idolized; but it cannot last long, unless he has extraordinary talents, or great comparative wealth. Few men of wealth, however, are disposed to take up the work of the ministry among the dissenters; and as for extraordinary talents, it is merely an identical proposition to say that they are not common. But let a man's wealth or talents be what they may, a dissenting congregation can never forget that it has sat in judgment on its minister, and therefore can never look up with complete respect to one on whom it has looked down with the investigation of criticism. It often happens that a minister is engaged for six months, or even more, upon trial, and during the whole of that time he is listened to critically; and he preaches and prays with a view to criticism; and he is compelled to undergo a thousand impertinent hints, animadversions, and suggestions, to make himself all things to all men; and at last it depends on the turn of a straw whether he be chosen or rejected. The sanctity and reverence of the ministerial character must greatly suffer by this system; and accordingly we find almost every where that a dissenting minister is but the tool of his flock; they are his instructor, and not he theirs. He must preach and pray in such fashion as may be most pleasing to them; he must be always of their opinion in all matters—religious, political, or otherwise.'—p. 111—113.

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connection is to exasperate the malignity of faction, by feeding in vulgar minds an ignorant contempt of the clergy. The charge of being "*useless*" proceeds with an ill grace from men whose lives are spent in efforts to frustrate the labours of the clergy by *calumniating their characters*. But the apology of the dissenting minister is to be found in his system, if indeed any apology can be offered for the man who consoles himself for *conscious servility* to his own party by a corresponding *insolence and ferocity* towards others.

'This counter-statement is given "more in sorrow than in anger;" not in the spirit of vindictive retaliation, but in mere justice to the calumniated ministers of the church, and to the cause of truth. For, after all, dissenting ministers, generally, are good men, although placed in circumstances unfavourable to the culture of manly independence of mind, which is perfectly distinct from party violence. And let it be recorded to their own honour, and to that of human nature, that not a few of their number fall victims to the system which they conscientiously uphold. They err in reasoning, but their hearts are in the right place. Their souls are not rendered callous by fanaticism. They feel the bitter mockery of such independence as is allowed them. Men of finer and more etherial temperament sink under the indignities and privations they endure, in what they conceive to be the path of duty, and die broken-hearted. The real cause of their untimely departure is little understood by the people with whom they are associated. Sustained in their last hours by faith in their Redeemer, their lamented fate is ascribed to their anxious zeal too rapidly wearing out the spring of life; and their names are enrolled in the obituary of the sect, as a testimony to the goodness of that system which destroyed them.'—*Hull*, pp. 59, 60.*

We might leave Mr. Hull to reconcile the apparent contradiction between these two paragraphs; but, on such a subject, contradiction is inevitable. Where two antagonist principles are thus in perpetual conflict,—on one side, the religion itself, with all its mild, and benignant, and sanctifying influences working within the hearts of the more enlightened and the better men—on the other, the inseparable evils of the *voluntary system*, inflaming the pride and the passions of the more intemperate and undisciplined,—with this constant struggle between the self-denying, and self-sub-

* 'A young man has been observed to receive from a church a flattering reception, and to settle under circumstances of peculiar encouragement. The people have formed a high opinion of his talents, and a higher of his piety. In the course of a year or two all is altered—the promise of his early services is not fulfilled—the feelings of the people change; some, whose admiration at first arose almost to enthusiasm, become now perhaps the most cool or *contemptuous;* the man lingers on for a time amidst growing dissatisfaction, till at length he either quits a sphere which he finds himself no longer adequate to fill, or is borne, with a strange mixture of emotion in the breast of survivors, to the last and universal refuge of humanity, "where the slave is free from his master, and where the weary are at rest." '—*Life of Morell*, p. 253. And this touching passage is again from the hand of the vehement preacher of the King's Weigh-House, Mr. Binney!

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of intolerant and comparatively barbarous times, than the modern Baptists with the atrocities of John of Leyden, or the prudent and peaceful Friends with the frenzies of James Nayler, and the other crazy fanatics who bore testimony against the 'Steeple House.' *

It is our duty, we humbly think, at least to attempt to throw ourselves forward, and assume the vantage ground of later history, in order, altogether divested of our own individual prepossessions, even of our most rooted feelings, to pass an impartial and deliberate judgment on questions like the present. Thus to anticipate with prophetic sagacity the verdict of the future philosophic historian should be the aim of the real statesman;—of him to whom alone the prospective interests of a great country ought to be committed, of him who legislates on deep and lasting principles, neither resisting with unwise and fruitless opposition the progress of human opinion, nor mistaking every passion of the day for the profound impulse of the public mind—the reiterated clamour of one section of society for the settled conviction of the whole. It will appear to the future historian, that at this period a considerable property—but a property not sufficient, if entirely confiscated, to make any sensible diminution in the public burdens—was held by a peculiar tenure. In every district a man of education and character was bound to reside, to perform the functions of religion; his sphere of duty was strictly defined, and every inhabitant had a right to demand his services; his church must be open on all stated occasions. This resident, whatever his rank or station in the ecclesiastical body, must be, and we will boldly state, almost invariably is, a man of exemplary moral character. He stands in a very peculiar position:—by his education, and by the respect at present universally attached to his profession, he is admitted on a social footing by the gentry and the highest aristocracy; the profession, indeed, is held in so much esteem, that the younger sons of men of the highest station are found within its ranks;—yet by the duties

* The Wesleyan Methodists are not only distinguished, at least the larger and more primitive part of the community, by a less hostile feeling towards the church, but the constitution of their community, in some degree, mitigates the inseparable evils of the 'voluntary system.' Though maintained by the benefactions of their members, the intervention of the Conference in regulating, we believe distributing, the salaries of the preachers, and in the appointment of the preachers to their different circuits, (that Conference being formed by the body of the preachers themselves,) prevents any direct collision between the congregation and the pastor. He is neither directly chosen by them, nor immediately stipendiary to his particular flock. As for establishments, the sentiments of the founder of Methodism are well known on that point. John Wesley would have had no objection to the revenues of the See of Canterbury, if he might have spent them in furtherance of his own religious views; he would, we suspect, have been only too happy to take up his abode in Lambeth Palace, if he might, at the same time, have been allowed to preach in Lambeth Fields. The excellent life of one of Wesley's ablest and most genuine disciples, Richard Watson, will furnish us with an early opportunity of reverting to this subject.

[illegible] is equally bound to be at the call of the humblest [illegible]. Of course, where there are many more than 10,000 [illegible] will be men of every hue and shade of talent and [illegible] — every possible difference of temper and sentiment; [illegible] will be bigotry, narrow-mindedness, a strong corporate [illegible], a dread of change; there will be worldly ambition and [illegible], avarice and carelessness, as well as the virtues which [illegible] to adorn, and which in the innumerable majority of cases [illegible] adorn, the ministerial character. But if the total effect be [illegible] pleasing and hopeful than an Utopian view of the subject [illegible] presuppose; if the clergyman is not universally,—what he is [illegible] frequently, the link which binds together the different ranks of [illegible], the almoner of the rich, the friend, and adviser, and con[illegible] of the poor;—let us inquire what other disposition of this pro[illegible] is likely, on the whole, to be so conducive to the peace and [illegible] of society, to the moral and religious interests of mankind?

The question is now entirely between an endowed and established church, and the voluntary system. No other appropriation to religious purposes can be admitted; the church revenue, if diverted from its present uses, must be altogether desecrated and [illegible] into the common stock of secular property. To follow [illegible], indeed, the principle of the voluntary system to its legitimate consequences, the law must prohibit the dedication of property to religious purposes, at least to the maintenance of Christian ministers, whether by grant or bequest. All endowments for the maintenance of dissenting teachers must be heroically surrendered in pursuance of the dominant principle: for the sole difference that we can discover between the two kinds of property, is the much larger amount of the one, and the much greater anti-

What then is to become of this property, if alienated for ever from its present uses? We have already said that its sale would really benefit the public but little; government assignats on church property would afford a very temporary relief to an embarrassed chancellor of the exchequer. But what will be the social, the moral, the religious consequence? The squire or the rich nobleman will have added the tithe to his rents; the glebe will have been thrown into the park of the neighbouring lord; the peaceful parsonage will become the residence of the retired tradesman; the church, we presume—for no one sect will be able to assert a peculiar right to its use, or to maintain it in repair—will become a picturesque and venerable ruin. There will be no longer in the village, or in the small town, the gentleman by birth, by manners, and by education—very often the man who spends five times the amount which he receives from church property, on purposes connected with religion and charity. For this most important point has been usually overlooked. There are numberless instances of men of considerable private fortune, who, from the high respectability in which the profession is held, are led to embrace it with zealous ardour, and bring to the church ten times the property which they ever derive from it. Instead of this, there will be the wretched cottage, or rather the cluster of cottages, where the teachers of the different sects, who will take upon themselves the Christian instruction of the peasantry, will rise in lowly rivalry; and obtain, as best they may, and by any means which their too-often-tempted conscience will permit—(for want is the most dangerous of tempters)—to wring out their precarious livelihood. They may be assisted by voluntary associations among the more wealthy of their sect, but what will be their general condition in comparison with the poorest curate of the existing church? If they can live, where are the funds for their education, for their books?—as for their assisting others, their 'widow's mite' would be a mite indeed!

America is the great model to which both parties appeal to show the success or the failure of republican institutions both in church and state. The voluntary system is there in full operation; some of its American advocates assert, as they assert with regard to all their institutions, in the most perfect and unexampled efficiency as a plan for the maintenance and advancement of Christianity. The counter-statement, however, rests on equal authority, and presents a very different result.* It is impossible for us fairly to

* A work has been published by the Rev. J.G. Lorimer, of Glasgow, called 'The Past and Present Condition of Religion and Morality in the United States of America, an Argument not for Voluntary, but for Established Churches.' It abounds in quotations

[illegible] into minute details, [illegible] being, as it were, the [illegible] have at present no [illegible] great and all-interesting [illegible] the vast floating surface [illegible] we can judge whether [illegible] upon the waters, [illegible] to doubt the [illegible] efficient agent in the [illegible] society; yet we [illegible] the Christian pros- [illegible] bound to admit, that [illegible] from Christianity [illegible] advocates of the op- [illegible] sober piety inculcated [illegible] the Church of [illegible] primitive Christianity, [illegible] revivalism which [illegible] religious feelings among [illegible] representations [illegible] camp-meetings too [illegible] fanaticism, to the Cory- [illegible] eruptions of en- [illegible] the crusades of the [illegible] necessary admitted, that [illegible] and migratory popu- [illegible] Christian ordi- [illegible] This is perhaps [illegible] the great cause of the weakness of the Church of Eng-

evitable consequence of the present period of social development in America;—grant that the congregations of the separate religious sects bear as great a proportion to the general population as in this country;—grant that the general tone of Christian feeling is equally high, pure, and primitive;—grant that the liberality of the several congregations maintains at least the more respectable of the ministers in decent ease and comfort;*—grant that our celebrated female traveller has overcoloured the influence exercised by the different ministers over her own sex, to the increase of their own worldly comforts, at the expense of the more parsimonious husband; and that she has over-estimated the proportionate power exercised over the male and female mind, as shown in the relative numbers composing the congregations;—yet, after all these prodigal and, we have no doubt, most unwarranted concessions, the question of the *utility* of a Church Establishment in England is hardly affected. In the United States all are, and must be for some time, much more on a level in point of property than in the old country; the high wages of labour place the artisan and the peasant much more nearly on a par with the shopkeeper or tradesman; the expenses of living on a decent scale are smaller, so that even the labourer who belongs to an independent congregation, if he has the will, has likewise the power to contribute to the maintenance of his pastor. The Methodists with us sometimes contrive to raise contributions among our working people; and through the habits of sobriety and temperance which they inculcate, the poor man is probably a gainer rather than a loser by his penny a week, or such trifling subscription. This, however, cannot be done on a general and extensive scale. A revolution which would, in any degree, equalize property in this country, must commence by destroying two thirds of it. In the first place, in so violent and appalling a convulsion, as alone could disorganize the present tenure of property, all which depends upon public or private credit falls at once; secondly, as such a revolution—if it ever comes—can only take place in the interests, and through the predominant power of the manufacturing classes, its first step must be the total abrogation of all corn laws, from which the value of land, and the

* We are assured, by a well-known and credible minister of that country,—'No minister of any Protestant denomination, to my knowledge, *has ever received a sufficient living two years in succession.* . . . . Dr. Payson's father, *like most ministers of country parishes*, derived the means of supporting his family from a farm which his sons assisted in cultivating; . . . . even the celebrated Dr. Dwight, when engaged on Sundays in his ministerial labours, was at one period of his life left to work after the same fashion, during the week; and . . . . the salary of a minister is in some cases below that of a day-labourer.'—*Dealtry's Charge*, p. 16. Dr. Dwight himself has said—'A voluntary contribution, *except in a large town*, is as uncertain as the wind, and a chameleon only can expect to derive a permanent support from that source.'—*Ibid.* (*note*), p. 109.

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into the nearest regions of want and distress. What would be the consequence to society, if the whole clergy of this country were at once reduced to the level of the dissenting ministry, in the means of doing good?—if all charities, as well as all the churches and meeting-houses of the kingdom, were left to the private and casual munificence of the opulent?—if there were none whom their station as Christian ministers, and their more intimate acquaintance with the divine charity of their Master, should summon to adorn and commend their faith by their good works—and who should be enabled, from their professional incomes, to answer to that imperative call?

For there is another most important point, which must not be overlooked in this great controversy. It cannot be denied that the present in this country, and even in America, is a period of much religious excitement. If the voluntary system would act at any time with efficiency, it would be now, when the plan of organizing religious associations is so widely practised; and the very nonsense and fanaticism which abound only prove the exuberant religious life and vigour which penetrate the whole of society. But the experience of all Christian history teaches us that such outbursts of over-strained excitement collapse into comparative indifference and apathy. The wise Christian statesman will provide for the evil day, as well as for the good: he will see that the voluntary system must ebb and flow with the tide of religious feeling; but if it once falls far below the decent, even if parsimonious, maintenance of a Christian ministry, what will be the consequence? None but very inferior, or very uneducated men, and those in general men of high-wrought enthusiasm, will embrace the calling; that enthusiasm falling upon undisciplined and uncultivated minds, the calling will sink in public estimation; and though there may be some wise and holy men who will cling to it through evil report as well as good report, yet the general effect must be the degradation of the ministerial character, and with that an increased disrespect and irreverence for religion itself. It is at such periods that the inert resistance of an endowed establishment, which depends for its support on no temporary excitement, and is liable to fail on no subsidence of local fervour, maintains at least the public ceremonial for local in all its decent dignity. Religion has a quiet sanctuary, in which, if she rest unaggressive, she still maintains her own self-respect, and commands respect abroad;—she can still associate herself with learning; and if the body of her ministers partake of the general quiescence as to the propagation of Christianity, even the regular performance of their functions tends to keep alive that which otherwise would almost expire in neglect and indifference.

indifference. At all events, directly that an impulse is given to a revival of religion, the machinery is at hand, and is almost instantly set in operation. The armour may be rusting for a time on the wall, but it is always ready for the hand, to be seized and employed as soon as the signal is given for the advance. If it be asserted, on the one hand, that the voluntary system will secure the Christian world against relapsing into such a period of apathy, we can only appeal to the annals of religion and to human nature itself. If, on the other hand, it is the establishment of religion which tends, by the certainty of the provision which it affords, to repress and to enervate the energies of its ministers, we can only reply, that in the general course of things, penury, dependence, want of respect—the inevitable lot of Christian ministers, who, in a period of declining piety, are supported only by the voluntary contributions of a few comparatively indifferent followers—will have a more main effect than even the enemies of our Church have ascribed to the ease and independence of an endowed clergy. If the last appeal be made to the protecting Spirit, which, we are assured, will watch over the preservation of the Church, and that the blessing of that Spirit will certainly be granted in an especial degree to congregations formed, as it is asserted, so nearly on the primitive Christian model, here our answer is, that this argument assumes the point at issue—it is undoubtedly unanswerable, if it can be *proved*, and clearly proved, that one party has a right to adduce it rather than another.

The plain practical question is, whether there is so much Christian liberality in any Christian country as to make it consistent with religious, or even with political wisdom, boldly to throw up this fund. It is singular that those religious sects,

wealthier classes—can there be any rational reliance on the proper, effective, general maintenance of Christian ordinances, or of Christian instruction, in any state of society?

Deeply should we lament, if any observations of ours should tend to widen the breach between the Dissenters and the Church. We appeal, in the name of our common Christianity, to all the peaceful and the enlightened of the former body, to stand forward, in order to allay the ungodly strife which has commenced;—we appeal to all who prize the religion of Christ above temporary political influence, to arrest this implacable and internecine warfare against the Church, in which, if they succeed, the advantages to Christianity, even on their own showing, are remote and problematical; in ours, must be fatal to the religious welfare of the community; but which, by its very agitation and excitement, must give a most fearful shock to the faith of millions. The strife cannot be carried on without the maddening of evil passions on both sides, the exasperation of mutual hate, the degrading sense of defeat, the still more unchristian exultation of triumph—and of all this our common religion bears the blame, and suffers the penalty. Why will not Dissent, if it will adhere to its voluntary system, take its place as an auxiliary—as a rival, if it will—in the holy emulation of peace and good works, with the Established Church? Why will it be always looking to the petty interests of the dissenting body—uniting, upon a principle of common hostility to the Church, parties which differ, *inter se*, far more widely, and on more important points of doctrine, than most of them from the Church—while the great eternal interests of the religion of charity and love are forgotten? Religious liberty, in its usual sense, is a noble thing; but religious liberty according to its more genuine acceptation is far nobler—the liberty of the soul from the selfish jealousies, the inflaming passions, the hatred and the strife which fill the heart of the demagogue—the liberty which commands internal peace, into whatever outward state of anxiety or distress man may be thrown, and emancipates him from the most tyrannical bondage under which he can groan—his own undisciplined, unimproved, unsanctified nature.

In order to advance, as far as may be in our power, this holy consummation, we would endeavour to remove every point of hostile collision between the two bodies—to abolish every distinction which is not strictly necessary to the existence and efficiency of a national church—and, by endeavouring to negociate an interchange of mutual good understanding among the wise and moderate on both sides, overawe into silence the clamours of the more violent. The principle of any such arrangement appears very simple,—mutual concession, and, if possible, mutual respect for

for conscientious prejudices. In this calm and conciliatory spirit, we would proceed, in the first place, to the investigation of what are called the *Claims of the Dissenters*, and afterwards to make some observations on the popular subject of *Church reform*.

The first grievance of which the Dissenters complain is the payment of *church-rates*. It may be observed, that the Dissenters do not state this question quite fairly, when they represent it as a personal charge; it is, in fact, a tax upon property. This tax is sanctioned by immemorial usage, and, no doubt, every one who hires a farm or a house calculates the amount of this rate as he does the poor-rate or the highway-rate, and pleads it in diminution of his rent. It is, then, a landlord's, not a tenant's tax. But let this pass. If the payment of church-rate be galling to the Dissenter, it is no less necessary to relieve the clergy in the large towns from the irritation inseparable from the yearly agitation of this question. In most towns the church-rate party has obtained the majority, and for that very reason we consider the amicable arrangement of the question at the present time every way desirable, more particularly when we consider *the uncertain state of the law as to the levying and appropriation of this fund*. Lord Althorp's Bill, introduced during the course of the last session, was assailed with equal violence by some zealous organs of either party. On one side it was objected, that the grant, secured upon the land-tax, did not amount to more than half the sum levied by church-rate throughout the kingdom. The Dissenters, again, insisted, that if any part of the church-rate was defrayed out of the general revenue of the kingdom, they were still liable to this indirect taxation. We must take the freedom to say, that both parties seemed to argue, if not in ignorance,

we rather believe that this charge is made by law on the church-rate in London,—in most towns it is established by usage. All the expenses of vestries, salaries to vestry-clerks, we presume, come from this rate, for they cannot legally be taken from that for the poor, or the highway-rate. Add to this, clocks, bells, and a multitude of small items of that kind, and we shall find a very considerable deduction from the church-rate; and all these expenses must, in all justice, be charged as a parochial tax upon the inhabitants under some other name. The third division of these items of expenditure, the ornamental part of public worship, ought, we think, to be borne by the congregations, either out of the pew rents, or from voluntary subscription. The manner in which Lord Althorp intended to provide for the second branch of church-rate expenditure was the most objectionable. He proposed to release *the rector* from the repair of the chancel, and to throw upon him, instead, these expenses. But Lord Althorp had, in the first place, overlooked the important point, that in many parishes there is no rector. Another most serious difficulty was this, that in the large towns, where, from the increased expenses of their situation, and the greater demands upon their income, it would be expedient to alleviate, rather than increase, the burthens upon the clergy, this bargain would have been, in general, most disadvantageous to them; while the country rector, whose chancel perhaps was in a state of comparative decay, would have to provide the requisites for public worship on the smallest possible scale, the town rector, who has been obliged to keep up his chancel, would have to provide for monthly communicants in vast numbers, and books, surplices, and all the rest of the charges in full proportion, according to the size of his parish, and, in some respects, his own zeal and success,—on the whole it would amount, in many instances, to a very onerous and unfair burthen. Some advantage would undoubtedly arise in placing the repairs of the chancel and the church under the superintendence of the same body; but some other source must clearly be found for this part of the church-rate expenditure, than that suggested by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. For the first article of expenditure, the repair of the fabrics, Lord Althorp assigned a payment of 250,000*l.*, payable from the land-tax. The dissenting interest was loud in its clamours against this proposition: instead of relieving them altogether from the burthen, it continued it, they said, in an indirect manner, since any charge upon the general revenue of the country pressed equally upon all classes. Their enemies might suggest that they were not well pleased that their annual opportunity of agitation was wrested from their hands, for they forgot to observe, that the land-tax is a partial burthen upon that class which at present pays the larger part of the church-rate,

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rate, and in which comparatively few Dissenters are found—the landowners. In the country, the tax falls directly upon the land, and so, through the tenant, on the landed proprietor; in the towns it likewise falls on property, which is assessed, or liable to be assessed, to the land-tax. If, then, this measure were merely considered as a relief to the landed interest in its present state of depression, no class in the community could have any right to complain of its injustice: the only valid objection lies against the land-tax itself, from the strangely unequal and partial manner in which it is assessed, according to a very ancient valuation, on the different counties, while a reassessment is become almost impracticable from the redemption of a considerable part of it during the administration of Mr. Pitt. It is worthy of consideration, that all church property, including *tithes,* is assessed to the land-tax; in fact, no small proportion of this 250,000*l.* would be defrayed from the revenue of the church. In many cases, we have no doubt that the annual church-rate is not more than the clergyman's assessment to the land-tax.

The second demand of the Dissenters is the right of interring their dead in the parochial burial-grounds *by their own ministers.* This claim is a very singular corollary from the former. Whatever expense attends the keeping up the burial-grounds falls on the church-rate; the Dissenters will not pay the church-rate, and yet complain that they are not admitted, *on their own terms,* to all the advantages of those who do. This claim is not merely unreasonable; it is an invasion on the rights, and something like a gratuitous insult to the feelings and the conscience of the clergyman. The principle of mutual and amicable concession does not require the Church to surrender this privilege; it ought to induce the Dissenter

their own dead—very small where the congregation consist of but few, large only where the community is flourishing—can be any heavy grievance upon Dissenters if they should be discharged from all payments, even for the inclosure of the churchyard.

Their next demand is for a General Registration. We presume that the object in urging this point is the legal difficulty which is found in the transmission of property; they want a record of their births and deaths, which shall be admissible as evidence in the courts of law. Without doubt, this concession should be made in the amplest and readiest manner. It concerns their civil rights, for which they are fully entitled to demand security from the legislature. For our own part, we wish that we had an executive strong enough to enforce the compulsory registration of births and deaths. Accurate statistics of a country form the most important element of political science, and we do not understand how these statistics can be accurate without a general national registration. But as the liberty of the subject seems to be disinclined to do anything 'on compulsion,' the only measure which can be contemplated at present must be one which will give full relief to the Dissenter who is desirous of securing the advantages of legal registration. The principle of such a measure appears to us the simplest possible, nor do we apprehend much difficulty in the details. Let the parochial registers remain as they are for the members of the church; let a civil register be established, in towns under the care of the town-clerk, in the country under that of the overseer, the constable, any one (with due deference to Lord John Russell) but the tax-gatherer. The parochial registers are now annually copied and returned to the chanceries of the different dioceses; the civil register might be transmitted to the custody of the clerk of the peace. But in order to obviate the difficulty of searching in two different places for records, a mutual interchange might take place, —a copy of the civil register should be transmitted to the chancery, and one of the ecclesiastical to the clerk of the peace.

The fourth demand is the Legality of Dissenters' Marriages. To any measure of relief on this head, the Established Church neither could in justice, nor, we are persuaded, would be disposed by inclination, to offer the least impediment. It is not a question between the Church and the dissenting body; it is the state that requires some security against the abuse of this privilege. The rite of matrimony is altogether so important to the well-being of society—the mischief of clandestine unions is so fatal to the peace of families—that the legislature must jealously guard the administration of the ceremony against all danger of fraud; it must not disorganize society in order to secure liberty of conscience. The whole difficulty, and it is a serious one, arises out of the constitution of the dissenting

dissenting body. Are all dissenting chapels to be opened for the solemnization of matrimony? Are all dissenting ministers to exercise the privilege of legally performing the marriage ceremony? In the eye of the law, then, who is a dissenting minister? Any one who will present himself before the magistracy, go through a certain form, and pay one shilling? What is a dissenting chapel? Any room, any house, for which a license may be obtained with equal facility? To restrict these rights to meetings of a certain description would be represented as a most unjustifiable invasion of religious liberty. But where is the security that both these licenses may not be obtained by knavish and designing persons, with the express purpose of celebrating one or more clandestine marriages? Some limit must then be drawn between those dissenting congregations and those dissenting teachers which are to obtain this privilege, and those which are not; but where is this line to be drawn?

'Demo unum, demo iterum unum.'

Is the congregation of 200 to possess the right, that of 100 to be deprived of it? Or, still lower, is the presence of 20 to give access to this solemn rite, that of 19 to be deprived of the privilege? In one class of persons the license would be the security against improper marriages. Though obtained from an ecclesiastical court, we do not understand that dissenters object to the application for marriage licenses through the appointed surrogates. But all marriages cannot be by the expensive form of license. Something analogous to the bidding of banns must be introduced, in order that due publicity may counteract the danger of fraudulent connexions. But where are the banns to be published? In the parish church? The church from which the dis-

the Universities. On this subject we have more than once written at some length; we shall only repeat, that in the present temper of the Universities, any legislative measure which should force the heads and governors of the colleges to adopt a system of education to which they conscientiously object, appears to us a most tyrannical infringement on the rights of conscience. On the other hand, if the dissenters labour under any disadvantages in professional advancement from their exclusion from academic education, some scheme should be devised to place them, in this *civil* right, on an equality with their fellow-subjects.

The claims of the dissenters being finally satisfied, not perhaps to the utmost limit of their own demands, but to the fullest extent consistent with justice, peace, and the existence of the National Church, Church Reform in England becomes a question of the internal policy of that church; in which those without her pale have no further concern than that solicitude which all good men must feel, that all means employed for the moral improvement of the people should be made as efficient as possible. Such, we are inclined to think, is already the general sentiment—at all events to this view public sentiment is manifestly tending; and we may observe that, comparing the addresses of the great majority of so-called *liberal* candidates on the recent general election with those of the preceding one, there is certainly on this head a most marked improvement. Confining church reform then to the *regulation* of church property, we know no subject which *all* parties ought to approach with more dispassionate and serious equanimity.* The principle once admitted, it is a question purely of practical detail. But if all propositions emanating from the church itself, as represented by the bench of bishops, are to be looked upon with jealousy and mistrust; if, on the other hand, such crude and ill-digested measures as those thrown on the table of the House of Lords during the last session by the late Lord Chancellor, are to be considered the ultimatum of the opposite party:—measures which, while they professed to remedy the evil of non-residence, were gratuitously insulting to the resident clergy; threatened them with penalties and forfeitures conceived in the spirit of the Star Chamber; not content with making them inform against themselves, left them likewise at the mercy of common informers; restricted their absence from their cures from three months to two—though among the resident clergy it is well known that few avail themselves of the extent of their privilege—and to some it is absolutely necessary to do so—and all who do so, incur considerable expense

* We omit altogether the Tithe question—on the expediency of some commutation all parties agree; the difficulty lies in framing a practical measure.

in

in providing for their cures.—a measure, of which we conscientiously believe that no one clause, if acted upon at all, could have been acted upon according to the intention of the framer of the bill; —if, we say, the grave question of church reform is to be entertained in such a spirit as this, it can only provoke stern and resolute resistance on one hand, and more reckless aggression on the other. By a friendly conference, something may perhaps be done; by a hostile debate, the difficulties and intricacies of the question can only be more inextricably involved.

Meantime we hope and trust that we shall not be charged with any disingenuous design of endeavouring still further to embarrass this important question, if we state some of the difficulties which stand in the way of a satisfactory arrangement. If some wise statesman can devise a scheme for the removal of those difficulties, none would hail the providential boon with greater satisfaction than ourselves.

The legislature possesses one great advantage for the consideration of the question, an authoritative statement of the amount of revenue which it has to regulate. By the return of the Commission of Enquiry into Ecclesiastical Revenue, it appears that the total *net* revenue of the archbishoprics and bishoprics in England is 160,114*l.*, affording an average of 5930*l.* The *net* revenue of the chapters* is 272,828*l.*

The total *net* income of the 10,701 benefices in England amounts to 3,058,248*l.* From this is to be deducted the sum of 432,956*l.* for the stipends of 5282 curates, on an average of 80*l.* each. No deduction is made from this net income for the repair either of episcopal residences, or of glebe-houses, nor for rates and taxes on the same. The following is the scale of benefices, which cannot obtain too much publicity:—

[redacted]

Benefices					
above £800	under	£900	per	annum	127
„ 900	„	1000	„		91
„ 1000	„	1500	„		137
„ 1500	„	2000	„		31
„ 2000					18

There is something appalling, at first sight, in this enormous inequality. Two great questions are instantly forced upon our consideration. Is it *practicable*, in the first place; in the second, is it *expedient*, to equalize the preferments of the church? The church property is the only source to which we can fairly look for the augmentation of the smaller benefices, and it is impossible not to see at once, that the confiscation of the whole episcopal and chapter property, with the few livings of very large amount, would not be of any great service. But we are not yet come either to the abolition, the degradation, or even, notwithstanding the brooding murmurs in the lower depths of democracy, to the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords. According, then, to the present order of things, would the average income of the bishops, calculated at 5930*l.*, endure much abatement? The equalization of the bishoprics among themselves is altogether a subordinate question; abstractedly speaking, we might wish that the laborious bishopric of Chester were at least equal to that of Worcester, or Gloucester to Ely. We should certainly prefer the raising the poorer bishoprics, Llandaff, Rochester, &c., by deducting from the richer sees, rather than by holding chapter preferment, and more especially livings, in commendam. But these are minor matters scarcely worthy of consideration in comparison with the great general question.

The chapter property may perhaps appear a more available source for the augmentation of the poorer benefices. But we must plead for considerable reservations on this head; we must plead in behalf of education and of learning. In the first place, the stalls at Durham, dedicated by the wise munificence of the present bishop and chapter to the endowment of the University in that city, will scarcely be diverted to a nobler or more useful purpose. The canonries of Christ Church *ought* invariably to be bestowed on men of letters or science, who will maintain or elevate the character of the University. We should much like to invade the patronage of the See of Ely with the same view, and attach half of its stalls to some of the most laborious and ill-endowed professorships at Cambridge. Nor, if instead of birth and connexion, theological attainments and literary distinction were considered the best title to the higher and more valuable stalls and deaneries, would the public have much inclination to

 demand

demand their more direct appropriation to the advantage of the parochial clergy? There is one very important and efficient office, that of archdeacon, which is in general miserably paid. The union of every archdeaconry with a stall is greatly to be desired. After ample provision for the maintenance of cathedral worship, and for that national as well as ecclesiastical object, the encouragement of theological erudition and literature in the highest sense of that word—after securing sufficient stations of comparative ease and dignity for men whose talents may be more serviceably employed in the labours of the desk, than in those of the ordinary parish priesthood—then, and not till then, what might remain of the chapter preferment might, in many instances, be beneficially employed in the endowment of the laborious and usually ill-paid vicarages in the large towns. This, in fact, is the weakest part of the church establishment. In all the older towns, the parochial cures in general belonged to the adjacent abbey. The abbey possessed the great tithes, and supplied the vicarage from its own body. At the Reformation the tithes were alienated, and the vicarage remained to struggle on in laborious penury. If, however, it be important that the more able and active of the clergy should be placed in the most important spheres of duty, it is in vain to expect this to be the case, where the laborious town parish is so much worse paid than the peaceful country rectory.

After all these deductions, of which the last alone would tend to improve the condition of what are now vulgarly called the working clergy, not much would remain for any general fund for the augmentation of poorer benefices. But with submission, we would inquire whether the property is not capable of considerable

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expected; and if a large proportion of it were reserved for the augmentation of smaller benefices, the government might, without injury to the public, if necessary, lend its aid. This would be peculiarly advantageous, where, as in many cases, the great tithes of large parishes are held on lease from ecclesiastical bodies, and the vicar, or more usually the perpetual curate, is paid by a fixed stipend, that stipend having been regulated when men

'Were passing rich with forty pounds a year.'

Nothing, *we know*, from many instances, creates a stronger prejudice against the church than the miserable pittance assigned to the resident curate in an extensive parish, where a large amount is levied for tithe, not by a lay rector (that the farmers understand,) but by an ecclesiastical body. All livings actually held by chapters ought in justice to be brought under the Curates' Act. If a scheme of this kind should be impracticable, we would venture to make another suggestion. At present, every benefice, including the bishopricks and the chapter preferments, pays first-fruits to the Crown. These first-fruits are made over to Queen Anne's Bounty Fund, which is applied to the augmentation of small livings. The first-fruits, in the latter case, on the whole, may not be very burthensome, but coming upon the bishop or prebendary just when he is most hardly pressed, by the change of residence, the expense of furnishing a new house, &c., it is often very ill-timed; and if he should die before he has realized several years' income, his family may be left worse off for his advancement. Might not the first-fruits be commuted, to the advantage of both parties, for a per-centage upon fines?

As to an equalization of livings, any such measure would be as unjust as impracticable. The necessary preliminary to such a step *must* be a re-measurement and re-arrangement, an equalization in point of extent and population of all the parishes in the kingdom. The confusion this would create in all the property in the country shows at once its absolute impossibility. And even if this departmental and sectional division were introduced, and the country marked out into new episcopal and parochial squares or parallelograms, unless the system possessed a self-adapting power to the rapid increase of the population in some quarters, and its more stationary condition in others, the proportion would be disturbed and thrown into as great irregularity as ever in a few years. It is obviously then impracticable, without thus recasting, as it were, the whole social system, to approximate to anything like uniformity in the payment of the clergyman, or to apportion the funds for his maintenance according to the first principle, the extent and population of the parish. In fact, the main difficulty arises from the insufficiency

of the whole revenue of the church: if it were all thrown together, and nothing reserved for bishops or other superior officers of the church, it is calculated that it would give to each parochial minister an income of 320*l.*! It would be a pleasant office to become a church reformer with an annual million or two more at our command; but under present circumstances, it is very difficult to suggest measures which will not create almost as many evils as they remove.

Yet, if such an equalization of the church revenues were practicable, we should entertain serious doubts of its expediency. Our readers will be astonished, it may be, amused, at our grave reference to the population question, in a discussion like the present. But in sober and most solemn earnest we would suggest the inquiry, whether by the multiplication of small livings of about 300*l.* a year, the general condition of the whole body would not be reduced greatly below its proper level of respect and independence? A much greater number would be tempted, immediately that they obtained a benefice, which we presume would be facilitated by this increase in small livings, to enter on early and imprudent marriages; they would find themselves burthened at the outset of life with large families, and either be reduced to penury, or at all events sink lower and lower in the general scale of society. According to the present system, unless heir to a family living, with commanding interest or commanding talents, a young man in orders is content to serve several years on a curacy before he thinks of settling in life. It is true, that some live and die as curates: it is a lamentable truth, that among these have been, there still may be, some deserving a much better fate; but we scarcely see how this is to be avoided, in an over-crowded pro-

this kind no doubt exist, and such abuses should be prevented, for the future, by rigid and uncompromising statutes. Wherever it is possible, there should be a resident clergyman in, or *near* every parish. For there is a vast deal of very idle fallacy, and serious misapprehension arising out of the parliamentary returns. No distinction is made, at least no marked and evident distinction, between a clergyman actually non-resident, and those who happen to reside just beyond the borders of their parish. In many instances, a clergyman is much more conveniently situated for the performance of his duties, though not actually within his parish, than if he were domiciled in some remote and unpeopled corner of it. At all events, these cases should not be confounded: we know several instances of clergymen, who are most diligently discharging the duties of their cures; but, in the public documents, are represented as non-residents, because the living either has no glebe-house, or none in which a gentleman can live; and the incumbent has therefore obtained a commodious dwelling as near as possible to his charge. In this, as in some other cases, we would allow great latitude to the bishops, and no man should be returned as non-resident, who is residing near enough to perform his duties with convenience and punctuality.

In one important particular all the Bills against pluralities and non-residence appear to us framed on a false principle. They have considered only the *value* and the *distance* from each other; they have altogether omitted the more important part, the population. Dr. Burton, in his proposed plan for the taxation of the larger livings for the benefit of the smaller, totally forgot this most important item in the calculation. It would be as unjust as it would be impolitic to tax a living of 500*l.* a year, with 5000 parishioners, for the benefit of one of 100*l.* with a population of 100. It would be a much more effective regulation than most provisions which we have seen, if any person holding two livings should, in almost all instances, be compelled to reside on that which has the largest population; and, holding one with a certain amount of population, he should in no case be permitted to hold another, unless where the population is very small. Under such regulations, notwithstanding the honest and just prejudice against pluralities in the abstract, there is no doubt that their practical operation, *in the present state of the church*, would be beneficial rather than injurious. If a clergyman has one living worth 200*l.* with a population of 2000, and another of 500 (no uncommon case) with a population of 200, it would be better that he should reside on the larger benefice with the united income, and leave a resident curate, with *a liberal stipend*, on the smaller. And, after all, population, though the best, is far from a certain criterion of a clergyman's

Church Establishment, in a temperate examination of the best mode of re-arranging its revenues, as far as that re-arrangement may be needed, will at once unmask the insidious friendship of those who — abolitionists at heart — still talk the smoother language of reform; and, by forcing them to declare their views openly, show how very insignificant a portion of the educated and influential classes of the community are inclined to sever the few remaining and almost imperceptible links which unite the Church and State. Nor do we consider this urgent cry of 'peace! peace!' applicable only to the avowed or secret enemies of the Established Church. If any zealous but imprudent and short-sighted knot of churchmen should endeavour to rouse a spirit of resistance among the clergy to a fair and candid examination of the Church, with a view to such correction, as may be practicable, of its imperfections;—if they should attempt to embarrass the government — the only government the country can have, that still retains a profound respect for the ancient institutions of the country—they will be the worst enemies of that Establishment, of which they declare themselves the devoted champions. If, on the other hand, such discussions are carried on with openness, candour, and real liberality, with a fair statement of difficulties, and a tranquil consideration of the remedies proposed, the Establishment of the country will rally round it all the good sense, the moderation, the wisdom, we will venture to say, the genuine Christianity of the country; for the real Christianity of the Dissenters themselves will then have the courage and the justice to disclaim the sentiments of the more violent and factious of that body. When the alternative is fairly placed before the country between an Established Church and the Voluntary System, we have too much confidence in the wisdom of the English nation at large, to have the slightest apprehension of appealing to, and of abiding by, its deliberate and solemn decision.

ART. VIII.—*Zur Geschichte der Neueren Schönen Literatur in Deutschland, von* Henri Heine. Th. 1 und 2. Paris and Leipzig. 1833.

IT has frequently been made a question, whether the Germans have any well-founded pretensions to wit; and it seemed till lately pretty generally agreed that the maintenance of the national honour in this respect had devolved exclusively on Jean Paul, whose sallies come flashing through his mysticism, like lightning through clouds. Within the last five years, however, a new star has

realists;* and it is still related, as characteristic of her style of inquiry in Germany, that her first address to Schelling was:—*Monsieur, voudriez-vous bien m'expliquer votre systéme en peu de mots?*† Her accounts of books, also, are singularly defective; her analysis of *Faust*, for instance, shows that she had never read above a third of it. But on the subject of Madame's merits and demerits Heine himself shall speak—

'Madame de Staël's *Germany* is the only comprehensive piece of information which the French have received as to the intellectual life of Germany; and yet, since the appearance of this book, a long period has elapsed, and an entirely new literature has developed itself in Germany. Is it but a transient literature? Is it already in the sere and yellow leaf? Opinions are divided upon these points. Most believe that, with the death of Goethe, a new literary period begins in Germany; that old Germany is gone with him to the grave; that the aristocratic season of literature is at an end, the democratic, beginning; or, as a French journalist lately expressed it, "The spirit of individuals has ceased, the spirit of all has commenced." As to myself, I cannot so confidently decide on the future evolutions of the German mind. The termination of the *Goethe period of art*, by which name I first designated this period, I had for many years foreseen. I might well prophesy! I had a thorough knowledge of the ways and means of those unquiet ones, who would fain make an end of the Goethe dynasty; and in the risings of that time against Goethe, I myself was certainly to be seen. Now that Goethe is dead, a strange pang comes over me to think of it.

'As I announce these pages as a continuation, in some sort, of Madame de Staël's work, I am obliged, whilst honouring the instruction derivable from it, to recommend, notwithstanding, a certain caution in the use of it, and most particularly to proclaim it a *coterie* book. Madame de Staël, of glorious memory, has here, in the form of a book, opened, as it were, a drawing-room, in which she received German authors, and gave them an opportunity of familiarizing themselves with the civilized world of France; but in the hubbub of the most various voices which cry from out this book, clear above all is heard the fine descant of Mr. A. W. Schlegel. Where she is all herself, where the magnanimous Madame speaks out directly with her own whole heart—even with the entire fire-work of her own brilliant absurdities—there, good and excellent is the production. But so soon as she

* 'He added, when something was said about the flights of her fancy, that for his part, he could not admire her flights, for to him she was generally invisible; not because she ascended to a great height above the earth, but because she invariably selected a foggy atmosphere.'—*Gregory's Life of Hall*, p. 235.

† The same mode of inquiry seems to have been adopted by M. Thiers during his ten days' journey to England in 1833, in which time he pledged himself to the citizen-king to learn all that was worth learning concerning us. He wrote as follows to a gentleman then connected with the Treasury:—

Mon cher Monsieur,—Pourriez-vous me donner un petit quart d'heure pour m'expliquer le système financier de votre pays? Tout à vous, THIERS.

lends

on Europe by Catholicism. It was necessary as a wholesome reaction against the gloomy colossal materialism which had unfolded itself in the Roman empire, and threatened to annihilate all the spiritual excellence of man. As the loose memoirs of the preceding century form, as it were, the *pièces justificatives* of the French revolution; as the terrorism of a Committee of Public Safety appears to us a necessary medicine, after reading the confessions of the patrician world of France subsequent to the Regency; just so is the wholesomeness of the ascetic spirituality recognized after reading *Petronius* or *Apuleius*, books which may be regarded as the *pièces justificatives* of Catholicism. The flesh had become so wanton in this Roman world, that the monastic discipline might well be necessary to mortify it. After the feast of a Trimalchion, there was need of a fasting regimen.'

He proceeds to specify the effects of this spirit upon the romantic literature of the middle ages, in which he thinks self-denial too rigidly inculcated; excepting, however,—he might have made abundance of exceptions—Gottfried of Strasburg, who, by the way, is supposed to be the author of the book which lured Dante's Paulo and Francesca into sin. Music, painting, and architecture, *suffered*, he says, from the same cause; but it will be sufficient to quote what he says about the last:—

'The art of building bore the same character as the other arts in the middle ages; as, indeed, at that time all manifestations of life harmonized most surprisingly with one another. Here, in architecture, is exhibited the same parabolical tendency as in poetry. When we now enter an old cathedral, we hardly feel any longer the exterior sense of its stone-work symbolicism. Only the general impression strikes immediately into the soul. We here feel the elevation of the spirit, and the prostration of the flesh. The interior of the cathedral is itself a hollow cross, and we there walk in the very instrument of martyrdom; the variegated windows cast their red lights upon us, like drops of blood; funeral hymns are trembling round us; under our feet, tombstones and corruption; and the spirit struggles, with the colossal pillars, towards heaven, painfully tearing itself asunder from the body, which drops, like a worn-out garment, to the ground.

'When we look upon it from the outside, this same Gothic cathedral, these enormous piles of building, which are so airy, so fine, so ornamental, so transparently elaborated, that one might suppose them carved out, that one might take them for Brabant points of marble: then do we first truly feel the power of that age, which knew how to obtain such a mastery over stone itself, that it seems almost spectrally instinct with spirit, that this hardest of material things expresses the spiritualism of Christianity.'

Coleridge had probably something of the same sort in his mind, when he said that an old Gothic cathedral always looked to him like a petrified religion. Heine continues:—

'But the arts are nothing but the mirrors of life, and as Catholicism was extinguished in life, so also did it grow faint and die away in

pious Jews, who, being often disturbed during the second building of the Temple by invasion, fought with one hand against the enemy, and with the other continued their work. Lessing and Herder are great favourites with Heine, who thus most *Germanicé* apologizes for introducing them :—

'The history of literature is the great *Morgue* where every one seeks out his dead, those whom he loves or is related to. When I see there, amongst so many insignificant bodies, Lessing or Herder, it sets my heart a beating. How could I proceed, without gently kissing your pale lips as I passed!'

This tribute paid, he passes on to catalogue their more distinguished contemporaries. Goethe, according to this dashing judge, *was a name in literature, but not by any means a supereminent one.* His *Goetz von Berlichingen* and *Werther* had attracted great attention, but more on account of their subject-matter, than of their merits as productions of consummate art, which few at that period discerned in them. Lafontaine wrote oftener, and was therefore more celebrated than Goethe. Wieland was the great poet of the day; at least Rammler alone could have disputed the palm with him; the theatre was subjected to Iffland, with his lacrymose dramas, and to Kotzebue with his trifling, though witty farces. These are Heine's opinions, not ours. Some of Iffland's comedies have great merit; and Kotzebue cannot justly be set down as a mere writer of witty farces. Mr. W. Taylor, of Norwich, calls him 'the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has evolved since Shakspeare,' and, understood with peculiar reference to stage-effect, this praise is not so much exaggerated as may be thought. His life and conduct will long prevent full justice being rendered to him in Germany.

The remarks on these writers are prefatory to a more minute account of the growth of the Romantic school, with the two Schlegels, Augustus William and Frederick, for its chiefs. Their then place of residence, Jena, was its seat; at Jena also resided the celebrated metaphysician Schelling, by some supposed to have afforded a philosophic ground-work to the Romantic school, which Heine denies. 'Schelling, however,' he adds, 'exercised undoubtedly great personal influence on the Romantic school; he is also, what is not known in France, a bit of a poet, and it is reported that he is still in doubt whether he shall not publish his collective philosophical doctrines in a poetical, nay metrical, dress. This doubt characterizes the man.'

But although the school was founded neither on Schelling's, nor or any other philosopher's philosophy, the founders amply compensated the defect, by setting up the best works of former times as models and making them accessible to their disciples. With

method. With a pedantry quite *sui generis*, with a terrible conscientiousness, with a grim earnestness of which your superficial French lunatic cannot so much as form a notion, was that German madness carried on.'

No less curious, and perhaps not more fantastical, is the parallel drawn between the patriotism of the two countries. The period taken is that immediately preceding the first effective rising of Germany against Napoleon:—

'Patriotism was the word, and we became patriots; for we do every thing which our princes bid us. But the same feeling must not be understood by this patriotism as bears the name in France. The patriotism of the Frenchman consists in this—that his heart warms, is stretched and grows wider by this warmth, so that it no longer embraces merely its nearest relations, but all France, the whole civilized earth, with its love. The patriotism of the German, on the contrary, consists in this—that his heart grows narrower; that it contracts, like leather in the cold; that he detests what is foreign; that he wishes to be no longer a citizen of the world, no longer a European, but merely a narrow German. There was now to be seen the ideal churlishness, which Mr. Jahn reduced to a system,—the paltry, dirty, unwashed opposition began against the most glorious and sacred feeling that ever originated in Germany, namely, against that humanity, against that universal spirit of fraternisation, against that cosmopolitism to which all our great spirits, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, to which all the cultivated minds in Germany have ever done homage. What soon after came to pass in Germany, is too well known to all of you. When God, the snow, and the Cossacks had destroyed the best energies of Napoleon, we Germans received the most gracious command to free ourselves from the yoke of the foreigner, and we flamed up in manly indignation against the all too long endured subjection, and we encouraged ourselves by the good melodies and bad verses of Körner's songs, and we reconquered our freedom; for we do every thing which our princes bid us.'

It may here be as well to remind Mr. Heine and his friends, that patriotism, as well as glory, is like a circle in the water, which by too much spreading may disperse itself to nothing. We much fear that *his* has already undergone this process, and that he has got simply a maudlin sort of French philanthropy, a feeling between vanity and egotism, in the place of it. As regards literature, we ourselves are cosmopolites, in the widest sense of the term, but the very notion of cosmopolitan patriotism is a baneful absurdity.

'At the period (he continues) when this battle was preparing, a school which was hostile to all things French, and trumpeted forth the praises of all that was characteristically German, necessarily met with the most flattering prosperity. The Romantic school marched hand in hand with the exertions of the governments and

harsher and coarser in his translations; the later, on account of the roughnesses filed into them, are almost unpronounceable; so that, if one was likely to trip on the smooth polished slippery mahogany floor of Schlegel's verses, one was no less likely to stumble over the clumsy marble blocks of old Voss.* At length, out of rivalry, Voss determined on translating Shakspeare, which Schlegel, in his first period, had so excellently done into German; but this turned out very ill for old Voss, and still worse for his publisher; the production was a total failure. Where Schlegel possibly translated too effeminately, where his verses are not unfrequently like whipt cream, with regard to which one hardly knows, when carried to the mouth, whether it is to be eaten or drunk; in all these places, Voss is as hard as stone, and a man runs the risk of breaking a jaw-bone in pronouncing his lines.'

It was Goethe, however, who gave the finishing blow to the romantic school; and exceedingly ungrateful of him it was, for they worshipped him as the first of moderns, and held him up as a model for posterity.

'They had him, too' (says Heine, with his wonted malice), 'so immediately at hand. From Jena to Weimar the road lay through an avenue of pretty trees—on which grow plums, very pleasant to the taste, when one is thirsty from the heat; and the Schlegels travelled this road very frequently; and at Weimar they had many a colloquy with Privy Counsellor Goethe, who was always a great diplomatist, and quietly listened to the Schlegels, smiled assentingly, often gave them a dinner, did them now and then a favour, and so forth.'

They are also accused of making court to Schiller, who, if they did so, certainly rejected their advances, and applied to them, as appears from his correspondence, terms expressive of no very qualified contempt. One of the principal causes of A. W. Schlegel's present unpopularity in Germany (which seems to have escaped Heine) is an attempt made by him to revenge himself on Goethe and Schiller by epigrams, not certainly in the best possible taste, though the provocation was great.

The plums, which were so attractive to the Schlegels, appear to have made a strong impression on Heine himself, for they play a prominent part in his first interview with Goethe; the account of which, as well as the personal description preceding it, are are amusing enough:—

'The accordance of personal appearance with genius, such as is required in extraordinary men, was conspicuous in Goethe. One might study Grecian art in him, as in an antique. His eyes were tranquil as those of a god. Time had been powerful enough to cover

* This may remind the reader of Johnson's celebrated parallel between Dryden and Pope.

 his

his head with snow, but not to bend it; he carried it ever proud and high: and when he spoke, he seemed to grow bigger; and when he stretched out his hand, it was as if he could prescribe, with his finger, to the stars in heaven the way they were to go. When I visited him in Weimar, and stood face to face with him, I looked involuntarily around in search of the eagle with the thunderbolts in his beak. I was on the very point of addressing him in Greek; but, so soon as I observed that he understood German, I related to him, in my own mother tongue, that *the plums upon the road between Jena and Weimar tasted very nice.* So many long winter nights had I thought it over—how many deep and sublime things I would say to Goethe when I saw him: and when, at length, I did see him, I said to him—that Saxon plums tasted very nice! And Goethe smiled—he smiled with the same lips with which he had once kissed the fair Leda, Europa, Danaë, Semele, and so many other princesses and ordinary nymphs besides.'

All this is thoroughly German—but no one who ever saw Goethe can deny that he was in reality a most sublime specimen of the human race.

Were we to linger over all the piquant passages in this book, we might be lured on to extract at least a third of it; but we have only room for one extract more, and after duly deliberating, we have resolved on giving the preference to the following observations on the relative merits of Goethe and Schiller, the two great candidates for the literary throne of Germany; where a republic of letters (for the present confusion of ranks and absence of rulers rather resembles an anarchy) has been hitherto unknown. Like a steady, prudent, thinking people as they are, they have always insisted on a king, and have never shown themselves very anxious to impose limitations on his authority.* Our readers will not fail to compare the passage we are about to extract with a paragraph on Goethe and Schiller from Mr. Coleridge's 'Table-Talk,' which we have printed in a preceding article. We cannot but suspect that Coleridge, in assigning a higher rank to Schiller than to Goethe, was unconsciously influenced by the recollections of his own early intercourse with the former, and more especially of his splendid exertions in the English 'Wallenstein.' Heine says—

'Although at one time I was myself an adversary of Goethe, I did

* 'Tieck (said Goethe) was emperor, too, fo[illegible] ne; but it did not last long, he was soon deposed. They said there was som[illegible] too Titanlike in his temper: he was too mild and good-natured. In the pre[illegible] e of things the empire requires a rigorous sway, and what may be called a [illegible] rbaric grandeur. Next came the reign of the Schlegels. Things now we[illegible] first, and Frederick, the second of the [illegible] a day passed in which some one was [illegible] did not take place. Perfectly right[illegible] immense favourites with the peopl[illegible]

not approve the coarseness with which Menzel criticised him, and I lamented this want of feeling. I observed—Goethe is at all events the king of our literature; when we apply the critical knife to such a one, we must never permit the least diminution of the courtesy due to his rank; like that executioner who had to behead Charles I., and before he discharged his duty, kneeled down before the king, and prayed his most gracious pardon.

'*Entre nous*, Goethe's enemies formed a very mixed assemblage. What came before the world I have sufficiently indicated;—it is more difficult to guess the particular motive of each in publishing his anti-Goethean convictions. There is only one person whose precise motive I know; and as I myself am that person, I will honestly confess it was—envy. To my praise be it spoken, however, that in Goethe I never attacked the poet, but only the man. I have never censured his works; I have never been able to discover faults in them, like those critics who, with their finely-ground glasses, have observed specks even in the moon. The sharp-sighted folks! what they regard as specks are blooming groves, silver streams, lofty mountains, laughing vales. Nothing is sillier than the depreciation of Goethe in favour of Schiller, by whom they never meant honestly, and who has always been exalted for the mere purpose of degrading Goethe. Or were people really ignorant that those high-renowned, high-ideal forms, those altar-pieces of youth and morality, which Schiller set up, were far easier to produce than those sinful, polluted creatures of the little world, of which Goethe gives us glances in his works? Can they, then, be ignorant that mediocre painters for the most part paint the figures of saints as large as life, but that many a great master makes it his study to paint, with natural truth and artist-like propriety, possibly a Spanish beggar-boy lousing himself, a low-country boor vomiting or having a tooth drawn, and ugly old women, as we see in small Dutch cabinet-pictures? The great and fearful is much more easily represented in art than the little and complete. . . . Rail as you will against the vulgarities in Faust, against the scenes on the Brocken, in Auerbach's Cellar!—rail against the irregularities in Wilhelm Meister!—all that, however, is precisely what you cannot imitate. But you are not desirous of imitating it; and I hear you exclaiming with disgust—We are no conjurers! we are good Christians! That you are no conjurers, I admit!

'Goethe's greatest merit is the completeness of everything he produces; there are no points which are strong whilst others are weak; there is no part fully painted whilst the other is only sketched. Every character in his romances and dramas is treated, where it occurs, as if it was the principal character: it is so with Homer—so with Shakspeare. In the works of all the great poets there are, pro-

haracters at all: every figure is a principal

, once upon a time, a French ambassador

that *a man of consequence* in St. Peters-

 burgh

adds to his list of the chief adversaries, a similiar catalogue of the chief supporters, of Goethe—amongst whom Varnhagen von Ense is characterized as 'a man who carries in his heart thoughts which are as great as the world, and expresses them in words which are as precious and polished as gems.' Varnhagen von Ense is really an admirable critic, who deserves to be better known in this country than he is. Sketches are given of Steffens, Görres, Hoffman, Novalis, Brentano, Von Arnim, &c.; and slight notices of the leading modern metaphysicians—Fichte, Schelling, Böhme, and Hegel—are interwoven, where it becomes necessary to explain their influence upon literature.

A continuation is promised; and on its appearance we shall probably return to this lively and entertaining work. We have, in our translations, studied to be *liberal*—not at all to be elegant — for we wished to give our English readers some notion of what the modern German style of expression is. We are sorry to add that, though Heine's vein in this book is far less irreverent than in his *Reisebilder*, we have been obliged to *mutilate* some of the passages which seemed to us deserving of quotation.

ART. IX.—*England, France, Russia, and Turkey.* Third Edition. London. 1835.

TO preserve the independence of Turkey has long been a primary object of the foreign policy of France and England, especially of the latter—for we have an Asiatic as well as a European interest at stake; and whatever course her fear of the 'spread of liberal opinions' may have induced Austria to pursue, since the 'three glorious days' in France, and the reform in England, have appeared to unite these two powers in support of such changes as she most dreads, there can be no doubt that the possession of Constantinople by Russia would be regarded at Vienna as an evil second only to the propagation of revolutionary principles in Germany. But, notwithstanding these opposing interests, Russia, from the day on which Catherine II. gave to her grandson the name of Constantine, has avowed her ambition to have a third capital on the Bosphorus; and had she not avowed it, her policy has been so unequivocally, perseveringly, and successfully directed to the subjugation of Turkey, that the most careless observation of passing events, or the most cursory perusal of the history of their relations and collisions, could leave no doubt

[illegible] in the hand of my sade

[illegible] Desdemona'—was her [illegible] was [illegible] to be pur- [illegible] was the excellent [illegible] alternative. It is has [illegible] herself a right to in- [illegible] Mol- [illegible] never [illegible] I never [illegible] was I happened [illegible] of mocking [illegible] never ceased [illegible] In what [illegible] seek our money, a [illegible] incorporating [illegible] have been [illegible] annual pe- [illegible] which [illegible]—was it [illegible] side [illegible]—of [illegible]? [illegible] and mixing [illegible] induced, [illegible] war of [illegible] power [illegible] sense [illegible] what he had [illegible] that the name

against her? Was it not because she was determined to interfere at all hazards; and having discovered that the sympathies of Europe were awakened in behalf of the revolted Greeks, she conceived the hope of detaching, on this ground, her allies from Turkey, and of being permitted to stand forth, as she actually did at a subsequent period, the champion of what she told Turkey was a European cause? Does any one who is acquainted with the discussions of 1821, and the proceedings of Baron Strogonoff, —with the terms of the ultimatum he presented—with the rude manner in which he rejected the answer of the Porte—and his subsequent departure from Constantinople, as the Porte truly said, 'without a cause'—can any one, who has any knowledge of this whole transaction, doubt for one moment, that it was the intention of the Russian ambassador to produce a rupture—or that he would have succeeded, had the ambassadors of France and England been prepared to leave Constantinople as they afterwards did in 1827? Was not the war between Persia and Turkey, which broke out at that very time, undertaken at the instigation of the Russian *chargé d'affaires* at Tabreez, and justified by him in a long note addressed to an officer of the Shah's household? Could it be that so remarkable an apparent coincidence between the views of the Russian representatives *at these distant courts* was the result of no previous concert?

But the violence of the Russian ambassador was unavailing. The firmness and address of the British government, and the temperate conduct of the Porte, postponed the catastrophe; and it was not until the shackles we had forged for ourselves in the treaty of London, had chained us to the side of Russia, and the evil effects of so ill-omened a connexion in such a cause had already prostrated Turkey, that we not only lost the power of preventing a rupture, but found ourselves contributing to the aggrandisement of our rival, and hastening the subjugation of our ally.

Turkey, on grounds incontrovertible, denied the right of any foreign power to interfere between her and her own subjects, whether Christian or Mahomedan. International law acknowledges no religious affinities or antipathies, countenances no classical associations, no schoolboy predilections; and—however generous or disinterested might have been the sympathies of European nations with their Christian brethren in Greece—however honourable the sentiments which led men imbued with classical recollections to seek the means of repaying to a degenerate posterity the debt of gratitude they acknowledged to some of the noblest examples of human wisdom and glory—the stern questions of right and law remained untouched by these indulgences of the imagination;—

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other power to the
This was acknowledged at the
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Russia, too weak to hazard a war while Turkey might find an ally in England or in France, no sooner saw her separated from these powers than she prepared to attack her. The war in Persia was first to be concluded—for even this was a sufficient impediment to alarm Russia—and the coffers of the Shah made to furnish the means of putting the Muscovite troops in motion. But the Russian general at Tabreez permitted the intentions of his government to transpire, before Turkey had even put forth that letter to the pashas, which furnished the emperor with the pretext for his declaration of war; and, therefore, before the existence of the grounds on which Russia afterwards attempted to justify it. The predetermination of Russia to go to war, should an occasion be offered her, was thus put beyond a doubt. It was what every man who had attended to her previous proceedings in the East, and who knew the feelings of the Porte, must have anticipated, from the moment he became acquainted with the treaty of the 6th July—must have known to be inevitable after the battle of Navarino.*

'It is ten years of continuous disasters,' says the writer of the able and eloquent pamphlet before us, 'occasioned or exasperated by the hostility, open or disguised, of Russia, and the errors of France and England, that have reduced the existence of Turkey to a diplomatic decision between the courts of Europe.

'The independence of Turkey has been undermined by her, under the mask of common objects, common measures, and formal alliance with the two cabinets most interested, and now on the point of recurring to the last resort in its support; by an unparalleled combination of successful delusions, she not only has veiled from them her motives and her acts, but has called in the aid of their armies and fleets, and the whole weight of their moral support, for the furtherance of her designs.'—pp. 6, 7.

But before her release from the contest with Persia, and the growing hostility of feeling between the Porte and its ancient allies, had matured the occasion which the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh awaited to accomplish its purpose, it was necessary to provide for the possibility of an accession, on the part of Turkey, to the demands of the three powers, and to draw, in the meantime, such advantages as might be derived from the commanding position in which this treble alliance had placed Russia. The 'reforms' of the sultan had already been commenced, and the destruction of the Janissaries had deprived him of the only military force which could have availed him in a contest with a European nation. His condition,

of the allies, for the accomplishment of the objects of the treaty of London, have ever appeared, except that contained in a previous Number. See Quarterly Review, vol. xliii. p. 495.

* For the circumstances which led to this battle, see Quarterly Review, vol. xliii.

therefore,

been in no one respect different from those adopted towards the other powers and their subjects. Russia had, therefore, no separate ground of complaint, except the declaration of the Porte, contained in a letter to the Pashas of the Empire, that it had concluded the Treaty of Akerman for the purpose of gaining time*—a declaration which the Turkish government evinced a distinct inclination to retract; and which, if even it had been unexplained, was not more inexcusable than the conduct of Russia in contracting engagements never intended to be fulfilled, and already violated.

Had England and France been untrammelled by the treaty of the 6th July—uncompromised by the 'untoward event' of Navarino, which was the offspring, legitimate or spurious, of that treaty—and unpledged to a conditional co-operation with Russia against the Porte,—they could not, they would not, have exposed Turkey, naked and alone, to the tender mercies of her enemy; they never would have consented to entrust all the interests they had at stake in her independence to the keeping of a power that had never ceased to desire and labour for her subjugation.

After an attempt to obtain the consent of the allies to 'the occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia in the name of the three powers,' and even to the march of her armies into Turkey, for the purpose of 'dictating peace under the walls of the Seraglio,'—after having failed in an endeavour to engage England and France in active hostilities against the Porte, subsequent to the departure of the ambassadors—and having declared, and been forced to retract the declaration, that 'in the manner of executing that act,' (the Treaty of London,) 'she will be able to consult only her own interests and convenience,'—Russia at length declared war.

'A war with Turkey,' she said, 'involved no complication of the relations of Russia and her allies. No compact of guaranteeship—no political obligations connected the destinies of the Ottoman empire with the reparatory stipulations of 1814 and 1815, under the shadow of which civilised and Christian Europe reposed from its long discords, and saw its governments united by the memory of a common glory, and by a happy identity of principles and intentions.† . . . . Russia,

* After the battle of Navarino and the departure of the Ambassadors from Constantinople, the Porte did not doubt that it was at war with the three powers, and it therefore appealed to the patriotism of the Turks, and called upon them to arm themselves in defence of their country and their religion. At the same time it informed them, not that it had been deceived by Russia, which was the truth, but, that it had deceived Russia, and had signed the Convention of Akermann for the purpose of gaining time. As soon, however, as the Porte had reason to suppose that a war could yet be avoided, it addressed the Russian Cabinet through the Reis Effendi, and expressed a desire to renew friendly relations with the Czar.

† What are the reparatory stipulations of 1814 and 1815—what the 'compact of guaranteeship' here alluded to; can it refer to Poland?

by

by her state of hostility with the Porte, from motives independent of the treaty of July, adheres, and will adhere, to the stipulations of that act. The duties it imposes on her, the principles on which it is founded, will be—the first, fulfilled with the most scrupulous fidelity—the second, observed without deviation. Her allies will always find her ready to concert her march with them in the execution of the treaty of London; and ever anxious to aid in a work which her religion, and all the sentiments honourable to humanity, recommend to her active solicitude; always disposed to profit by her actual position, only for the purpose of accelerating the accomplishment of the clauses of the act of July—not to change their nature or effects.'

Russia creates the Greek insurrection, denounces it to the Porte, and affects to assist in quelling it; then menaces war in consequence of the severe measures taken by the Porte—spreads the revolt by [illegible] publicly notified by the departure of her ambassador, [illegible] about the hostility between Turkey and Christendom, which [illegible] makes herself be entreated by England to enter the [illegible] by the treaty of July—obtains the important advan[illegible] the convention of Akermann, by renouncing, in favour of [illegible] further interference in the affairs of Greece; is then permitted by her allies to seize that inestimable moment, when Turkey [illegible] the last gasp for making war, so that she might [illegible] the settlement of the affairs of Greece. When she has [illegible] and hostility between Turkey and Europe, she [illegible] Turkey is no longer necessary to the balance of Euro[illegible] generosity induces her not to destroy it. She engages [illegible] profit by the position" in which her allies have placed [illegible] in no way from the stipulations (stipulations of media[illegible] and conservation) of the 6th July. Mediator in [illegible] belligerent only in Roumelia and Anatoly; but she [illegible] in the Archipelago, and blockades the Dardanelles;

To connect the proceedings of this period with subsequent events, to preserve unbroken the chain of Russian policy respecting Turkey, and to put beyond all doubt, if any doubt yet remains, her views of aggrandisement—the audacity with which she pursues them, and the success of her measures—we must examine the Treaty of Adrianople a little in detail; and the analysis of that remarkable document contained in the pamphlet, from which we have already quoted largely, is so able, that we must be excused for extracting it:—

'The first article that deserves attention is the third. The Delta, at the mouth of the Danube, is annexed to Russia, and therefore that river, the highway of Bulgaria, of *the Provinces**, and now, by the introduction of steam-navigation, of central Europe, is placed at her disposal, and the opposite bank is to be left uninhabited for the distance, inland, of six miles; so that it is entirely out of the power of the Porte to retain any balancing control over it.

'Art. IV. consigns to Russia, without ever mentioning it, Anapa, the key of Circassia, both military and commercial, obtained by treachery at the commencement of the war. This acquisition cuts off the commerce of three or four millions of an independent and warlike population, deprives them of some necessaries of life, and of ammunition; it intercepts their communications with Turkey, and prevents all obtrusion on Europe of their claims on her sympathies or interest. To this cession is added nearly two hundred miles of coast, and three military positions; moreover, two fortresses, one the chief place of a Pashalick, beyond Georgia; and this Russia takes without any views of aggrandisement; and, secure in the ignorance of Europe, without condescending to mention names, or specify particulars.

'The separate act, annexed to Article V., stipulates the following arrangements for the provinces—the nomination of the Hospodars for life; the abolition of the imposts in kind, which formed the principal source of revenue from the provinces; the expulsion from them of all Mussulmans; the demolition of the Turkish fortress, Giurgova; and the establishment of a quarantine, separating them from the Porte, and uniting them to Russia. This is a species of interference too strange to mean any thing less than actual possession. To establish, in the provinces of an empire treated as independent, a military cordon of this description, would, of course, never for a moment be tolerated from any other government save Russia. This insulated the provinces from Turkey, and gave Russia the control of every individual, every vessel, every bale of goods, every letter. The idea is monstrous, of a quarantine directed by a foreign power; and that it should be so directed is provided for. The sanitary establishment is

* *The Provinces* is a diplomatic phrase, by which Wallachia, Servia, and Moldavia are designated.

placed

[illegible] Russian [illegible] nor does it rest [illegible] commanded to this ser- [illegible] officially directs the [illegible] military force.

[illegible] relative to Servia. [illegible] made perhaps; for [illegible] evacuation. An [illegible] embroiling [illegible] discussion [illegible] renewed appeals, [illegible] the matter in his own [illegible]

[illegible] was referred to: and his [illegible] set foot in that [illegible] Finally, the [illegible] was arranged *à l'amiable.* [illegible] originally demanded, and [illegible] was referred, to the [illegible] Russian ambassador.*

[illegible] Russian merchants. They [illegible] numerous and having paid [illegible] under no pretext, by [illegible] for in consequence of [illegible] administration of internal [illegible] per cent. on exporta- [illegible] by the deprecia- [illegible] Russia's tariff, which she [illegible] local taxes on pro- [illegible] The consequence [illegible] administration of the [illegible] refunded of rights

object was concealed behind this affection: strange to say, the least in Russia for ultra freedom of commerce. The Turkish administration had evinced a disposition of imitating Mehmet Ali's monopolies. In its new difficulties, the idea recurred, or the suggestion was made by some of the agents of all sorts that have occupied every avenue that approach every ear of men in office. Essays were made: they were evidently infractions of those rights which Russia defended with so much acrimony.

'The Russian *protégés*, thus exposed to a new vexation, far more oppressive than the slight duties from which Russia had emancipated them, claimed loudly for redress from their ambassador. They were told not to meddle with matters that did not concern them: Russia's object was attained; the "monopolies," however inapplicable the term, were created; a new abuse, if not very oppressive, very vexatious, established; a noxious spirit of fiscality introduced into the administration; every Frank, from one end of the empire to the other, exclaimed, "Turkey is lost!" and every *employé* of Russia added, "What a country would not this be, if in the hands of a civilised government!"

'Art. VIII. stipulates the amount of the commercial claims. There is nothing else of importance save Art. IX., which determines a compensation for the war expenses—which is "to be settled, by common consent," between the two courts.

'Here, in this little sentence, lies the pith of the whole transaction; this it is, which has mortgaged Turkey to her enemy; this has led to the treaty of the 8th of July, to the convention of St. Petersburgh, and to the actual peril of the empire.

'It is a memorable record of the hurry with which so important a treaty was formed—of the apathy of the other embassies, and of the facilities possessed by Russia of over-reaching her enemy—that the Turkish plenipotentiaries conceived, or were led to conceive, for the transaction took place through the intervention of dragomans, that a million meant one hundred thousand!* The treaty was signed by them, and carried back, after the ratification, to Constantinople, under the impression that the sum due was four hundred thousand pounds, not four millions.

'Considering the deplorable state of the Russian troops—their utter destitution—the ravages of a pestilential disease†—and the revolution that had taken place in the disposition of the inhabitants, and of the Albanian army, with difficulty restrained by the Porte from falling on the Russians, the discovery, a little sooner, of this error of a cypher, might have prevented the necessity of the inquiry in which we are engaged; but regrets are vain, except in as far as they may rouse us from the inaction that has so seriously and so

* 'The sum is not specified in the treaty first communicated to the ambassadors; but in the annexed act, although the commercial claims are minutely as the epochs of payment stipulated in the treaty.'

† 'When the treaty was signed, not more than eight thousand were in a state to march, though, in certain Perot circles, they were believed fifty thousand strong.'

uselessly

'But it may, perhaps, be supposed,' says the writer of this pamphlet, 'that the extension of the Russian dominion, like our own in India, has been brought about by circumstances, and is contrary to the principles it has laid down for its own conduct. But any one who knew no more of Russia than is to be learnt from this very declaration of war, must be aware, after perusing it, that the possession of the Dardanelles ought to be, if it is not, the chief object of the policy of Russia. "The Bosphorus is closed," says Nicholas, in his manifesto, 26th of April, 1828; "our commerce is annihilated." The declaration of war continues—"The ruin of the Russian towns, that owe their existence to this commerce, becomes imminent, and the meridional provinces of the states of the Emperor lose the only outlet for their produce—the only maritime communication which can, in facilitating exchange, cause labour to fructify, and bear industry and riches."

'This is a large avowal to make: it no doubt was inadvertently made. How can the external resources of Russia be developed without the greatest danger to the state—whilst the outlet and inlet of their products are at the disposal of a power rendered innately hostile by a long series of encroachments, embittered by the disgust which has been engendered by the mode and the humiliations which have been added to injury? If the possibility of any hostile movement did not exist—if there were no such nations as France or England in the world—if the rich provinces of Turkey were not worth the acquisition—if Russia had no interest in forming a marine—if it were not necessary for her to prevent the existence of good government in Turkey, either for the prevention of an agricultural development, fatal to her own, or to take all hopes from the various populations wrested from Turkey, and who continue subjects of Russia only while misgovernment in Turkey continues—if, for none of these reasons, the possession of the Dardanelles were desirable, still would it be necessary for the security of the actual commerce of Russia, and must be possessed, before the government can permit the extensive development of industry which might, at any moment, convulse the empire and overthrow the government, in consequence of a verbal order of the *Reis Effendi* to the port-captain of Constantinople. "The Dardanelles is for you," said Count Nesselrode, "an important question; it is for us a vital one." "It is the key of my house," said Alexander.'—pp. 22-24.

In reflecting on the details of these transactions, and observing their immense results, one is struck with the comparative insignificance of the means by which Russia has been able to effect, in the face of Europe, a series of aggressions and encroachments which the leading cabinets of Europe had at all times professed a desire to oppose; and we must admit that there is perceptible in our own diplomacy, and in that of France, a weakness and vacillation, as well as an ignorance of the Turks and of Turkey, suffi-

 cient

found in them a cause sufficient to account for the evils that had befallen their country. The whole force of ancient prejudices in the people, of personal interest in the nobles, and of religious fanaticism in the priesthood, was arrayed against the attachment of the nation to its sovereign—to sap and to destroy the loyalty of the Turks. The clamour became general, and ambitious men in the more distant provinces, or in those most loosely attached to the empire, thought the time was come when they might with impunity renounce their allegiance—revolt succeeded revolt, and the Ottoman power seemed ready to fall in pieces from the violence of the shock it had sustained, and the apparent relaxation or rupture of the internal bonds of connexion.

But beneath this feeling of discontent, unextinguished by the perception of his errors and the evils which were imputed to them, there lay deep in every man's heart an indestructible attachment to the national chief and the head of their faith—an ineradicable feeling of mingled feudal and religious allegiance that connected the honour, the national existence of the whole Ottoman people, and the stability of their religion, with the supremacy of this representative of the family that had reigned over them for thirty generations—a feeling which, so long as he preserved in their eyes his own nationality, overcame all the causes of complaint or disaffection that prompted them to condemn and to abandon him. The revolts were successively put down, or the demands of the insurgents adjusted; peace was restored, and the promise of repose and renovated strength. The army was recruited, clothed, armed, and paid with regularity: the navy was re-fitted. The civil administration of the country was about to be revised, and some important ameliorations had already been effected.* Military schools were established; extensive means of instruction were provided; a new impulse

* We quote what follows from the journal of a recent resident in Turkey: —'During the reign of Mahmood have been abolished the state and etiquette which were formerly the occupations of the court. All the useless charges of the seraglio have been swept away. An economy and simplicity have been introduced into several departments of the state which is really surprising. The expenditure has been reduced to one-fifth of the former charges. The power of life and death has been withdrawn from the pachas. The Christians have been relieved from those burdens and prohibitions which galled them before. The revenue, notwithstanding the deficiencies caused by the loss of the contributions of Greece, Albania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia—for many years of Egypt, Syria, Candia, Bagdad, Akhaltzik, and lately of Kars and Erzeroom, that is, of nearly one-half of the empire—is yet in a state to meet the increased demands of the new organization. Political culprits and rebels have not only been pardoned, but trusted according to their political capacity. The prisons of Constantinople are empty. There are no heads on the seraglio gates. Numerous academies have been built and endowed by the Sultan, and there are now seven thousand young men receiving in these establishments an education which, without pretending to embrace the higher branches of science, is exceedingly well calculated to make them useful and respectable

 members

could get no redress, and were more and more disgusted with a Sultan who was unable or unwilling to protect them. The influence of Russia was everywhere felt, and everywhere injuriously, by the nation, but the odium of her measures fell on Mahmood, who was regarded by the people as the instrument of her oppressions. The destruction of the Janissaries had removed the only national check on the sovereign, and his foreign connexion seemed to be formed with a view to place himself in a position of perfect independence of his subjects. To them, therefore, he ceased to be chief of their race; he had become a pageant in the hands of their enemies.

Meanwhile, a storm had been preparing in another quarter.

Mahommed Ali, Pacha of Egypt, the most powerful of the subjects of the Porte—a man possessed of great energy and talent, and equal ambition—had early appreciated the value of the military discipline that made the armies of Europe irresistible in the East. Ruling a country which furnished him with large resources, and which possessed no native elements of resistance to his government—removed from the dangers of foreign war, and uncontrolled in the exercise of his authority or the appropriation of a revenue of five millions sterling—he had been engaged, through twenty years of uninterrupted internal tranquillity, in maturing a military and naval force which, though inferior in its materials, was superior in its organization, to that of the sovereign he still professed to obey. Having recruited his army from a people who had long been conquered and oppressed, he found them without the pride or the prejudices that deprived the Turkish army of the inestimable advantage of being commanded by European officers of skill and experience; and he surrounded himself with military adventurers of some reputation, whom the revolutions of Europe had driven from their homes.

Having tried his troops in Africa, in Arabia, and in Greece, and found them not wanting in efficiency, he looked with anxiety to the progress of events at Constantinople, and cautiously calculated the chances of success in an attempt to aggrandize himself at the cost of his sovereign. Twelve months before he declared his intention to march into Syria, his inquiries and observations left no doubt on the mind of, at least, one European who approached him, of his intention to measure his strength with the Sultan. He even then proposed to extort by force of arms the performance of a promise, which he said he had received, to reward his services in the Morea with the government of Syria.

There were circumstances in Mahommed Ali's situation which made the extension of his dominions a condition of the duration of his power. His system of administration had sapped the foundations

peans of many nations, who profited, whether by his follies, or by his more useful innovations, made Europe ring from side to side with the praises of their patron; and men who derived their opinions only from the journals of France and England, or the reports of travellers who saw nothing but the results we have been enumerating, conceived that in Mahommed Ali they had found the regenerator of Egypt—the civilizer of Africa and of Asia—the enlightened Mahommedan reformer, who was to prepare the Arabs and the Turks for a place amongst civilized nations.

But of all the evils with which the various forms of despotism afflict a people, there are none so hopelessly degrading, so surely destructive of the comforts which make life worth having, as those which attend the steps of a trading tyrant. The transition is so easy from the purchase of the produce to the plunder of the peasant —in a mind sordid enough to originate the system, the temptation is so strong to become a monopolist and to increase the profits by diminishing the first cost, that it will never be resisted by a despotic ruler; and where the means of coercion exist, the result will necessarily be the unreserved appropriation of the whole surplus produce of the kingdom, leaving to the peasant a meagre subsistence. A disinclination to labour, when no advantage can be derived from exertion, is the unavoidable consequence; but the tyrant will not be *defrauded* of his revenues, nor the merchant of his gains; then comes forced labour for the sole benefit of the taskmaster; in short, unmitigated slavery in its worst form—and such at this day is the condition of Egypt.

We have lately perused the journal of a very intelligent gentleman, whose opinions were formed on the spot under circumstances which afforded him an excellent opportunity of arriving at just conclusions, and whose statements are the more valuable because —while they are those of a man of sound judgment, and whose observations have not been confined to one country in the East—they were intended merely as private records, preserved for his own individual satisfaction. His sentiments so directly corroborate the estimate we had been disposed to form, on information derived from other sources, of the value of Mahommed Ali's 'enlightened policy,' that we make no apology for extracting a few passages, of which the writer has permitted us to make use.

After giving some particulars regarding the establishment of the college which is superintended by young men whom Mahommed Ali had sent to Europe to be educated, and who appear to have done ample justice to his selection, the Journal proceeds—

'A certain number of scholars now attend, but they are paid by the Pacha a small sum of money to encourage their attendance. We were

were told there was a good deal of difficulty in getting pupils. The library attached was not very select; it contained, however, a great number of books embracing most of the arts and sciences, and many miscellaneous works. Among the number we were not a little surprised to find one entitled "Crimes of the Turkish Emperors." There were very few English books—not above two or three. Malcolm's "History of Persia" was among the number, the Pacha being curious about the politics of that country. The printing-press, lithographic establishment, and type-foundry, are under the management of an Arab from Mount Lebanon, (one of the pupils he had sent into Europe,) a very shrewd, intelligent young man, who conducted us over the whole manufactory—cast types before us, set them up, and threw off some sheets of printing in a clear beautiful character. At the cotton manufactory we beheld the whole process, from expelling the seeds from the cotton to its transformation into the finest fabrics—plain, wrought, and printed. The machinery was all made in Egypt from the latest improved European models. In some of these manufactories, also, both the superintendents and workmen are Turks and Arabs; the moving power of the machinery is horses. At the iron-foundry they seemed to be forging anchors; the mighty hammer was raised by a simple machine moved by horses. We did not see the cannon-foundry, but we heard that a newly-invented engine for boring two cannon at once was in use there; neither could we enter the arsenal, but one day when we went to the castle, which overlooks it, we saw a vast number of tumbrils and gun-carriages of the European pattern, all painted green, and seemingly very well finished. We understood the arsenal was very well supplied.

'It is hard to fathom the reason of Mahommed Ali's introduction of all these European arts, and sciences, and knowledge, into his country. If it were to better the condition of his people, one might give him some credit, but he has no intention of this kind. He is

work, in constructing this passage for the transit of the Pacha's goods, and eighteen thousand more in cleaning out the canal of Yoosof; and yet, at Shubra, this man, in his holy zeal, took the trouble to remove the bones of a reputed saint and build a new tomb over them, because the former tenement was in danger of being carried away by the Nile. He imports dollars, and coins them into base piastres, which he obliges the people to take at an arbitrary value; and this, too, is continually changing at his pleasure. One day he will issue a proclamation that twelve and a half piastres shall be the value of the dollar, to be disobeyed on pain of death; the next there will be another, under a like penalty, that no more than twelve is to be given; while at the same time the intrinsic value of the dollar is twenty of this adulterated coinage, if not more. He rules Egypt with a rod of iron; but, after all, he is fit for the people, and the people for him. It is difficult to pronounce which is the worst. He seems a scourge in the hands of God, to lash them for their iniquities. They are a most abandoned set.'—*MS. Journal.*

Such, we fear, is the 'enlightened policy' which Europe has consented to applaud—such the system which the popular governments of France and England have contributed to extend from the shores of the Nile to the banks of the Euphrates—such the foundation of the power which is to compensate us for the subjugation of Turkey.

But extortion, even where there is no power of resistance, is limited by the power of production; and before it has reached that limit, frustrates its own purpose by extinguishing in the heart of man the only sure incentives to active exertion. As Mahommed Ali has sown, so has he reaped: he has converted the peasant of Egypt into a mere slave, who has no personal interest in the result of his exertions, and he receives in return the amount of a slave's labour; he has dried up the source of prosperity, and he wonders to find that his revenues decline. The resources of Egypt failed him. His wars in Assuan and Sennar, in Arabia and in Greece, had drained his treasury and exhausted the population of the country, which was no longer competent to maintain the huge military establishment his ambition had led him to organize. He was driven to the alternative of reducing his army and navy, or augmenting his revenue by new acquisitions. Long before the occasion arose by which he at length profited, he had acknowledged this necessity; but to reduce his army—was to proclaim his weakness and to abandon the ambitious views which his army alone could enable him to realize. He decided on adopting the other alternative, and marched to the conquest of Syria. A quarrel with the Pacha of Acre furnished a pretext for entering the province, without at once obliging him to declare his hostility to the Sultan—who, after a vain attempt to reclaim his revolted

[illegible] rebel, and marched troops to [illegible] him.

[illegible] of discontent generated by [illegible] the Sultan, which has already been [illegible] the oppressive amount of the ex- [illegible] of foreign and domestic war [illegible] were in Syria some especial [illegible] from the misconduct of the local [illegible] the people to rebellion, and [illegible] Damascus and the plun- [illegible] use of the pilgrims to [illegible] re-establish its authority, [illegible] the turbulence of the [illegible] of Ibrahim Pacha [illegible] refuge from the vengeance [illegible] with the memory of their [illegible] chiefs and rulers, who [illegible] the Sultan—which, how- [illegible] the lower classes—they [illegible] The [illegible] of the Sultan was [illegible] the ambition of the [illegible] was followed by other [illegible] was received, if [illegible] The same [illegible] existed every- [illegible] everywhere vicious [illegible] the Sultan [illegible] to amelio- [illegible] directed against [illegible] and the more influential

and religious distinctions which had hitherto made the exclusion of foreign interference a part of its political creed, looked with anxiety and hope to England and France, who, it was believed, had an interest common with the Turks in opposing Russia, and re-establishing the independence of the Sultan.

The Pacha of Egypt here found another element of strength, and boldly asserted that these two powers were his abettors. The assertion, bold as it may seem, was never contradicted; and, judging merely from their proceedings, it would be difficult even now to show that it was not true.

However this may be, it is important to observe that Mahommed Ali, when holding to the Ottomans the language he thought most likely to attract to him adherents, never once suggested the idea of dethroning the Sultan, or changing the line of succession;—he had marched, he said, *to the aid of his master.* This therefore must, in his opinion, have been the most acceptable character in which he could present himself to the nation, even at the moment of its strongest excitement against the reigning sovereign. From this we may gather the depth of the feelings that protect the loyalty of a Turk, and convince ourselves of the satisfaction with which the nation would receive back to their hearts the monarch of their race, could he only be restored to them free from the influence they abhor.

The successes of Ibrahim Pacha in Syria alarmed the Porte; and it determined to apply for foreign assistance. The influence of Russia was necessarily great at the court of Mahmood—Wallachia and Moldavia were still occupied by her troops—a large amount of the indemnity for the expenses of the war was still due to her. Russia offered her assistance without reserve and without stipulation. To reject it might give her umbrage; and to seek the aid of any other power might induce her to throw the weight of her moral influence into the opposite scale. Yet the Porte, true to its principles even in this extremity, declined her interference; and, with a noble confidence, sought the support, the protection of England—but sought it in vain. May we ask—why?

The dependence of the Sultan upon Russia had been a principal cause of disaffection in Turkey, and therefore of his and her weakness. This weakness, and the jealousy with which the nation viewed his connexion with Russia, in their turn became the causes of his more hopeless dependence;—this again produced distrust in the only governments that could extricate the Sultan and his people from their difficulties. The Turks themselves were not more jealous of the influence of Russia with the Porte than England and France had become. The loyal men who approached the throne of Mahmood perceived the entanglement, and hoped to

to draw from the very difficulties which surrounded them the means of extricating their prince and their nation from the net in which they were inclosed. They knew that to release Mahmood from dependence on Russia was to restore him to the nation, and the nation to him. To secure the accomplishment of an object so important to Turkey, to Europe, and especially to England, required but that England should speak the word—that she should say, 'let it be done;' yet she remained silent.

Knowing as we knew, or ought to have known, that nothing but a deep conviction of its own inability to surmount, without assistance, the crisis that was fast approaching, could have induced the Porte to ask for assistance at all; it must have been obvious that when it lost all hope of assistance from England, and from France—(for they were then acting in intimate union)—there was every reason to fear that it would have recourse to the dangerous aid of Russia, rather than allow itself to be overwhelmed. We had no right to expect from it even the firmness it displayed in resisting the friendly proposals of the Emperor. We knew that Russia had many privileges to protect, and a large sum of money to receive, and that this to her would be a sufficient pretext for interfering; but we knew, also, that Russia had never interfered in the affairs of Turkey without seeking and achieving her own aggrandizement. We knew that she had never ceased to desire the possession of Constantinople—the command of the Dardanelles; we knew that the weakness of Turkey was our loss, and the strength of Turkey our gain—precisely because it was our interest to exclude Russia from the possession of these straits, and to have them in the hands of a power whose interests were distinct from those of Russia, and which was strong enough, with our assistance, to defend them. We had, therefore, lamented the prostration of Turkey, and the ascendency of Russia in her councils, and we knew that to refuse her aid was to aggravate the prostration and augment the ascendency. Or can it in truth be, that we were ignorant of all these things? Of which shall we accuse ourselves—the knowledge or the ignorance?

When we left Turkey to fall under the attacks of Mahommed Ali, or to stand under the protection of Russia, what did we propose to ourselves? It may be presumed that we had some views—some objects: if we had none, of course there is an end of the matter; but if we had any, it is important to ascertain what [illegible] may have been. This, however, is difficult, for the positive [illegible]ons of our motives or intentions are too slight to be traced, [illegible]rom what was not done, rather than from what was done, [illegible]st deduce our inferences.

[illegible] facts that we did not assist the Sultan, that we did not

not restrain Mahommed Ali, (till Russia interfered,)—that we had not a ship of the line in the Mediterranean, and that we had not an ambassador at Constantinople—it may be inferred that the success of the Egyptians was not disagreeable to us: had it been otherwise, we should have supported the Sultan—we should have told Mahommed Ali, that to weaken Turkey was to injure England; that the peace of Europe required that Turkey should be preserved, and that we could not permit him, or even a greater than him, to destroy it*. We should have reinforced our fleet in the Mediterranean, and put it in a position to give weight and effect to our remonstrance; and we should have hastened the arrival of the accomplished nobleman to whom the care of our interests in Turkey was to be intrusted; we should have done, before Russia interfered, what we were forced to do after that; we should have done, in short, as an act of friendship to Turkey, what we were at length obliged to do from fear of Russia, and the clamour which that fear produced. But as the English cabinet did nothing, the unavoidable inference is, that it looked with complacency on the progress of events—that it saw nothing in the success of Mahommed Ali, or the subversion of the Turkish government, to excite its alarm, or induce any suspicion that the interests of *England* were about to be compromised—that the king's ministers hoped, in short, to find in the establishment of an Egyptian empire under Mahommed Ali a sufficient compensation for the destruction of Turkey.

That this was the opinion on which the Government acted, or declined to act, is the more probable, because it certainly was that of the French ministry with which our measures were concerted.† But if this was the calculation on which England and France proceeded—(and it is difficult to reconcile the measures of the *two* governments with any other)—then it is obvious—as they made no attempt or preparation to prevent the interference of Russia—that they must either have expected her not to interfere at all, or prepared to abandon Turkey to her *protection* if she did, and to seek for compensation elsewhere.

How could they expect Russia not to interfere? Was it imaginable that the Sultan, abandoned by them, would suffer

* The power of the Pacha of Egypt is at all times under the control of any nation superior to him at sea. To blockade the Nile is to extinguish the power of Mahommed Ali; and this is the more easily done because he cannot bring his ships out of the river in a state fit for sea—they must be taken out first and fitted afterwards—they could not therefore attack a blockading squadron or force their way out.

† Mahommed Ali had long been a favourite of the French government, and more especially a favourite of the French admiral. He was surrounded by French officers, and his troops were commanded in great part by Frenchmen. Egypt seemed to be a land reserved for the enterprise of the French. To extend the government of the Pacha of Egypt was to extend the sphere of that enterprise.

himself

of subjugation, at which resistance ceases, and *protection* begins—a point beyond which force and violence are no longer necessary, and the absence of collision presents no occasion to interfere. To a power which has to dread opposition in its career of conquest, the step which enables it to pass this point is the most important in the whole series; and this was the step which *we* invited Russia to take when we abandoned Turkey to her protection. There were two ways in which Russia might acquire permanent possession of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus: the one, by force of arms—which we should always have had it in our power to oppose, because Turkey would then have been with us; the other, a more insidious, but not less effectual mode of subjugation, which, by placing the Porte under the protection of Russia, would leave all its resources at her command, and exclude all possibility of interference, because there could be no collision. This was the result we had to expect from the position in which we placed Turkey—a result which the treaty of the 8th July announced to the world.* But this implies the immediate acquisition of a virtual command, and ultimately of an actual command, of the Dardanelles by Russia.† What then did we prepare to sacrifice, when we consented to this arrangement?

The possession of the Dardanelles would give to Russia the means of creating and organizing an almost unlimited marine. It would enable her to prepare in the Black Sea an armament of any extent, without its being possible for any power in Europe to interrupt her proceedings, or even to watch or discover her designs. Our naval officers of the highest authority have declared that an effective blockade of the Dardanelles cannot be maintained throughout the year. Even supposing, therefore, that we could maintain permanently in those seas a fleet capable of encountering that of Russia, which in a few months will be about sixty sail in the Black Sea alone,‡ it is obvious that in the event of a war it would be in the power of Russia to throw the whole weight of her disposable forces on any point in the Mediterranean, without any probability of our being able to prevent it; and that the power of thus issuing forth with an overwhelming force at any moment, would enable her to command the Mediterranean Sea for a limited time, whenever it might please her so to

* Those who may desire to know the details of the proceedings which led to this result, will find them in the Pamphlet, the title of which is prefixed to these observations; and they will find, moreover, that a perusal of the whole work will amply repay them for the time they may bestow upon it.

† We do not take into account the possibility of rescuing Turkey by a war with Russia. This is no doubt still practicable, but it will not be long practicable; and as such a measure is beyond all calculation improbable, we do not speculate upon it.

‡ Is this great fleet to remain for ever in the Black Sea? if it is not, Russia must consider her command of the Dardanelles as already secure.

do.

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Prussia, and Bavaria, so as to establish a direct communication between the manufacturing districts of Germany with the marts of Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Arabia, and even India itself? Is it for England to allow freedom of commerce to be extinguished in the only portion of Europe where it exists? Is it for England to allow an empire, a principle of whose existence is freedom of commerce, to be swallowed up by the most restrictive power on the face of the earth? Is it for England to allow the first commercial position in the world to be occupied by such a power? These motives could not have been appreciated by Lord Chatham; they did not then exist, because the fiscality of Russia had not been developed, when he said, with all the concentration of deep conviction, "with the man who cannot appreciate the interests of England in the preservation of the Ottoman empire, *I will not argue.*"

'While the three powers (Russia, Prussia, and Austria) coalesce, first for the partition of Turkey, that they may march, as the St. Petersburgh Gazette has even already ventured to threaten, "by Constantinople to Paris," they look with not less confidence to the partition of the commercial prosperity of Great Britain. On the occupation of the Dardanelles, disappears the importance of our possessions in the Levant. They were only valuable because the Turks held these straits. When Russia is there, they are valueless, and will soon be untenable; although the expenses of harassing observation may greatly increase our internal embarrassments.'—pp. 89-91.

But if such are the consequences which England has to apprehend, what were the interests of France in the preservation of Turkey?

'What must the consequence be of the accession of all the resources of the Turkish empire to the northern alliance? From that hour Russia is invulnerable—a few thousand men suffice to guard her southern and eastern frontiers—her attention is all concentrated on the west. A very few years will double or triple her revenue. The commerce of Europe will be in her hands—in her control will be placed all the materials at present used in the arsenals of France. A formidable fleet will be launched in the Mediterranean; in three or four years, she may easily possess a navy superior to France. The influence and commerce of France are immediately arrested in the sea hitherto her own; and at any hour Russia may transport her Cossacks to the shores of Italy or of Spain, to support the factions, and the principles which, even at present, cause her so much inquietude. These circumstances will re-act on Belgium, on Germany, on internal faction. The very hour that Russia is entrenched at the Dardanelles, these consequences will be evident.

'England, to-day the ally of France, will she be so then? Can she send fleets or armies to her support? Clearly impossible. Whatever may be her sympathy, England cannot again engage in a continental war—and this struggle will be confined to the dry land.

 'If

quence of the iniquity of his system—and embarrassed by the want of means which disables him from ameliorating his administration, even should he desire to do so, and leaves him no choice but to persevere in his course of coercion, which implies an augmentation of his army—he has no alternative but to attempt a further extension of his territory, in the expectation that he may thereby improve his condition; and he will be driven by this necessity to commence another series of conquests at the expense of the Sultan. At this moment both parties are preparing for the war, which both feel to be inevitable, and each is seeking a pretext to accuse the other of the first aggression.

Mohammed Ali already accuses the Porte of exciting the revolt in Syria. Pretending to believe that the Sultan was instigated to this course by Russia, he calls on England, France, and Austria to aid him in rescuing the Ottoman monarch from the thraldom in which he is held by that power; and finds in the intrigues of which he accuses the Porte a sufficient reason why he should declare himself independent. The Porte demands in vain the restitution of the Pashalic of Orfa. This the Pasha of Egypt holds, without even a pretext, because it opens the way to Bagdad, which he has already announced, to at least one foreign power, his intention to occupy. With like ill success the Sultan requires the liquidation of an arrear of tribute, and finds in the rejection or evasion of these demands sufficient grounds for going to war.*

The kingdom is divided against itself, and cannot stand unless by foreign aid. So long, therefore, as the power of Mohammed Ali exists, so long must the Sultan be content to receive protection. The treaty of the 8th July has constituted Russia sole protectress of Turkey, not in fact only, but in right. 'She is now legitimate protector of the Sultan, and the contingency again arising, an appeal to any other power becomes an infraction of stipulations.' It has given her the virtual command of the Dardanelles, on the precise ground of her having charged herself with that protection: it has enabled her to pass the point beyond which opposition ceases and collision can no longer take place. It is not by aggression, therefore, but by means of this very protection which was the offspring of our own errors, that we must now expect to see the subjugation of Turkey consummated. The aggrandisement of Mohammed Ali, then, directly and powerfully contributes to that subjugation—and at the

* The European powers interested in the question have declared that an attack on Mohammed Ali might compromise the peace of Europe. By what a slender tenure, then, does Europe hold that blessing, which may at any time be compromised by the caprice or folly of a Turkish subaltern; and how unfortunate has been the policy which has generated elements of discord so little capable of being controlled, and yet sufficient to convulse the whole civilized world!

dependence of Syria and Egypt, if that could by any possibility be preserved, would compensate to us for the loss of the Dardanelles—that we shall not hereafter, as heretofore, become instruments in the hands of her enemies to hasten the subjugation of Turkey—that we shall not, and this is the whole matter, slumber on in ignorance of what Turkey was, or is, or is to be.

Of all the questions of foreign policy with which England has at this moment to deal, this is the most important and the most difficult; it is complicated by the embarrassments which our past errors have accumulated. The path that lies before us is shrouded in the mist of imperfect knowledge, and narrowed by the dangers of war on the one hand, and worse evils on the other; but we are not without hope. We have confidence in him who is to guide us; and it is no small advantage, at a time when the future state of Europe is to be decided in the East, that the foreign policy of this empire has been, at last, entrusted to one to whom oriental affairs have long been familiar.

ART. X.—*Sir Robert Peel's Address to the Electors of the Borough of Tamworth.* Pickering. London, 1834.

IT is common, we suppose, to all men, who find themselves involved in some unexpected and—as they think—undeserved difficulty or danger, to exhale the first impulses of vexation in reproaches against those, whose folly or wickedness have led to their embarrassment. But after this *natural* burst of indignation, no man of sense, courage, or prudence will waste his time or his strength in retrospective reproaches or repinings. He will consider his perilous position as a *fact* which cannot be undone, and he will turn his hopes and his energies towards the means which may be still left of delaying or diminishing the danger, and of seeking and improving the opportunities and chances of extrication and safety. Such should be, and such we are happy to think *is*, the spirit which now animates the Government and its supporters throughout the country. The Lords and Commons may regret the destruction of those venerable and convenient edifices in which for centuries they had held their sittings; but they must be satisfied (for a time, at least) with the new accommodation which is prepared for them; and they will endeavour to adapt, as well as they can, their ancient forms and parliamentary traditions to the new localities in which the business of the nation *must*—of necessity—be done. This is, as it appears to us, an *apposite* illustration of the duties of Sir Robert Peel and his administration. He must accept as a FACT—the change which the Reform Bill has made

racter by supporting measures, which—in their candour and kindness they pre-suppose—must be in contravention of all the principles of his earlier life; and thus they fancy they have established an inevitable dilemma—either Sir Robert Peel must set himself against public opinion, and be *unable*—or he must yield to it, and become *unworthy*—to maintain his position as first minister of the Crown. To both of these alternative objections the Address to his constituents is an annihilating answer. As to the *past*, Sir Robert Peel justly says that the whole of his public life evinces a sincere, though not blind, deference to *public opinion;* and as to the *future*, he professes that the measures he may propose will be influenced, not merely by what any particular set of men may endeavour to set up as public opinion, but also by the paramount consideration of what may be really and permanently beneficial to the *public interests*. Public opinion is, after all, but a variable wind; and that pilot will never conduct his vessel to a port of safety who sets out with a determination to run before it, blow how it may. Sir Robert Peel has undertaken a navigation which can be successfully accomplished as little by invariably yielding to public opinion, as by habitually disregarding it. He must know that it is—as the wind to the ship—his *primum mobile*, and that his course must be obedient to its *impulses*, though not always to its *direction*.

And it has been always so. No minister *ever* stood, or could stand, against *public opinion*. In that *principle*, the Reform Bill has made no change—but it has made a great and, we fear, most injurious change in the manner in which the principle *operates*. Formerly, the action, as well as the growth, of Public Opinion was gradual; and during the time that it was slowly acting on parliament, and through parliament on the government, it was also examining, correcting, and improving *itself*. The first burst from the popular spring is naturally somewhat turbid, and requires to be filtered before it becomes fit for use. By the various salutary impediments of the old system, the stream, at once moderated in its velocity and purified in its quality, was rendered, not eventually less powerful, but more regular in its supply, and more wholesome in its effect. The Reform Bill has destroyed the ancient conduits and strainers, and brings Public Opinion to act upon the government with the rapid, turbulent, and uncertain violence of a flood! It behoves, then, the *Public* to recollect that, as the checks which used to mitigate their first impulses are gone, it becomes *their* duty to be more slow in forming, more moderate in expressing, and more cautious in applying, that irresponsible and irresistible Opinion whose action is now so sudden, and whose errors may be so irretrievable and so fatal. If those who possess

the word, *consistent*, must adapt his judgment to the fluctuation of events in which he is destined to live? If we thought it worth while to press the argument *ad hominem* home to individuals, we could show that the very same men who then *went out of their way* to eulogise Sir Robert Peel's conduct on those grounds, are the very persons who have lately deprecated the possibility of any change in his opinions or conduct in consequence of the change of circumstances, in terms of the utmost virulence, and we will add—indecency. But with such persons discussion would be fruitless; and it is needless; their own idol, Public Opinion, has already done justice upon them; their idol, which, like those of the savages, they worship as long as it seems favourable to them, but are ready enough to revile, and even chastise, whenever they find its aspect to be inauspicious. We therefore satisfy ourselves with indicating the inconsistency of the argument, without descending to notice more particularly the worse than inconsistency of its advocates.

But, after all, the premises on which this prophetic imputation was raised turn out to be absolutely groundless. Sir Robert Peel means, he tells us—in *perfect consistency* with the whole tenor of his public life—to conduct his government in a spirit which ought to satisfy all those who really desire 'the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances,' without creating any additional alarm to those who are anxious for the maintenance of established rights, and the conservation of the great principles of the constitution in Church and State. We say *additional alarm;*—for it would be uncandid not to confess, that—notwithstanding our entire confidence in Sir Robert Peel's integrity and talents, and our deliberate conviction that he will do all that can be done to direct the power which the Reform Bill has created to proper objects and to limit it within constitutional bounds—our own apprehensions for the *ultimate* safety of the monarchy are little less serious than they were in the earlier stages of the great political experiment in which we are involved. But this opinion—which we could not in candour nor in honour suppress, and which, indeed, is only a corollary to the view we have just taken of the new operation of Public Opinion—refers only to ulterior events, and casts no shade of doubt as to the present duty of every man to act under the conviction, that as in one event all will be certainly and suddenly lost, so in the other, all may be, for a time at least, as certainly saved.

Sir Robert Peel's Address is—in *itself* and independently of its topics—a proof that he accepts, and will—unfettered by old customs and traditions of government—endeavour to meet the exigencies of the times. When before did a Prime Minister think it expedient to announce to the *People*, not only his acceptance of office,

[illegible] measures [illegible] parliament, [illegible] pre- [illegible] not, [illegible] former times [illegible] and [illegible] but: but [illegible] placed the [illegible] and abso- [illegible] and, [illegible] the [illegible] merely [illegible] parliament [illegible] might, [illegible] Robert [illegible] administration [illegible] *parliament*— [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] to [illegible] State, [illegible] than [illegible] narrow [illegible] his [illegible] arrangement [illegible] other con- [illegible] of this

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It must also be observed, that there were peculiar circumstances attending this case, which seemed to require such an exposition. If Sir Robert Peel had (as it was, we believe, often in his power to have done) *put out* the preceding ministry by some parliamentary question, he could not have done so without stating in the face of the country his motives and intentions. But here the preceding ministry had been dissolved during the recess—in his own absence abroad—and without his knowledge, concurrence, or most distant expectation. Called home suddenly to deal with a crisis—in producing which neither he nor his political friends had had any share—he found the country in a state of agitation and anxiety as to the principles of its future government, which demanded and required some authoritative declaration: but for such a declaration he had no parliamentary or official opportunity. Explanations of a similar nature had been often given on moving the writs for new ministers. Sir Robert Peel adopted an analogous course, and, in announcing to his constituents that he had vacated his seat, he stated to them the grounds on which he solicited a continuance of their confidence and that of the country at large.

But although the fact and form of his Address be a tribute to the exigencies of the times and of his own personal position, Sir Robert Peel asserts that he abandons none of the great principles of his political faith,—he avows his determination to preserve unimpaired in essentials, the constitution in Church and State; and insists with great force and irresistible proof, that in the readiness he professes to correct acknowledged abuses, and to promote the redress of any real grievance, he is acting in perfect consistence with the whole course of his official life.

'Now, I say at once that I will not accept power on the condition of declaring myself an apostate from the principles on which I have heretofore acted; at the same time, I never will admit that I have been, either before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. I appeal with confidence in denial of the charge to the active part I took in the great question of the currency—in the consolidation and amendment of the criminal law—in the revisal of the whole system of trial by jury—to the opinions I have professed and uniformly acted on with regard to other branches of the jurisprudence of the country—I appeal to this as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour or responsibility in the application of a remedy.'—pp. 7, 8.

As the immediate influence of the Reform Bill on the expected elections must necessarily have been most powerful, we are not surprised that the Opposition in the absence of any other merit, should have made that their stalking-horse, and endeavoured to represent

to give, their most energetic assistance to the Whigs. But that any real Whig should be so blind—so forgetful of the old principles of that party—as to accept such aid from such persons and for such ulterior purposes, does exceedingly surprise us; and is, we fear, to be attributed even more to party rancour than to greediness of place, for the experience of the last session must have convinced them that they are incapable of maintaining themselves in office, except by the meanest concessions to their Radical—allies, in name—masters, in reality. We are aware that there are a great many gentlemen ranked among the Whigs who see the danger of the coalition with the Radicals as strongly as we do—some few of them have silently withdrawn themselves from the connexion—but the majority, influenced by the old traditions of party, find it difficult to break their trammels; and they suffer themselves, with a sullen reluctance, to be dragged, by men they despise, into an alliance with men they detest. We have always professed great respect for fidelity to party connexions. We are in that—as in everything else—disciples of Mr. Burke. *Party* was in our old system one of the safeguards of the constitution; but even under the old system, there were occasions in which honor and patriotism not only allowed but required the sacrifice of party feelings—witness the cases of the Duke of Portland, Lords Fitzwilliam and Spencer, Mr. Windham, and of Mr. Burke himself, in an exigency infinitely less alarming than the present. But the Reform Bill has, amongst other mischiefs, extinguished the constitutional utility of party—it cannot exist, for its old and legitimate purpose, in a body where every individual holds his public life at the mercy of a particular set of constituents, and who must therefore fashion his proceedings not by the principles of a party, and on the model of a Mr. Pitt or a Mr. Fox, but according to the public opinion—not even of the day, but of the particular place for which he sits. To affect, now-a-days and after such a change of circumstances, to be bound by the *old* ties of Whig and Tories, is like that worthy gentleman who, surviving for many years a beloved wife, kept vacant at the head of his table the chair of the defunct, and treated the empty place with all the little etiquette and attentions which had used to be paid to the living occupant.

But there are considerations which must have their influence even with men who still profess adherence to party, if they also maintain any regard to common sense and the practical welfare of the country. If the present ministers are to be displaced, by whom can they be succeeded? Does any Whig of the *old school* imagine that there remain of *that* party either leaders to compose an administration, or numbers to support one? Four years ago, Lord Grey himself found it impossible—witness Lords Goderich

which, in addition to its other great qualities, had the modesty to claim to represent the old firm of Grey and Co., nay, indeed, they trumpetted themselves as the *real original Simon Pures*, while the Radical mobs at halls and hustings were ready to swear to their identity. It is impossible to be serious in noticing so absurd an imposture.

Between the two *cabinets* there was but *one* important element in common—but one man, who, by his station in the government and the space he filled in the public eye, could have afforded any guarantee that even the general policy of the two administrations was likely to be the same; but, unfortunately, the personal deportment of that eminent but oblique-visioned man was in such violent contrast with the character of his office, as to afford a guarantee for nothing but uncertainty and embarrassment. The restless imbecility of some of that Cabinet —which, *like a palsied hand*, could not refrain from touching everything, and shook whatever it touched—was a little steadied by the supine and timid mediocrity of others, and so presented a less instant and immediate danger; but the explosive vigour and erratic activity of Lord Brougham had become to the sovereign and the country—even to those who had been his greatest partizans—a source of more urgent apprehensions; and to none, we really believe, more than to his own colleagues. If Lord Althorp had not been called up—if Lord John Russell had consented to postpone the question of the Irish church—if Mr. Ellice had retracted his resignation—nay, if the Cabinet could have agreed on the king's speech—its doom was nevertheless already sealed; and the only speculation, either amongst themselves or the public, was, on what fine day or what odd occasion their '*wildfire* chancellor' (as one of his former friends called him) might happen '*to blow them up.*' And although the death of Lord Spencer anticipated *that* catastrophe, and seemed to terminate the administration without the immediate intervention of Lord Brougham, yet no one can doubt that his extravagant proceedings had prepared both the king and the people to take the first opportunity of ridding themselves of a Lord Chancellor whose talents—precisely of the nature least suitable to the gravity and importance of his station—threw his colleagues into contempt, and his country into alarm.

It is, however, no more than justice to express our belief, that the irregularity of Lord Brougham's course was not solely, nor perhaps even chiefly, occasioned by either personal eccentricity or a spirit of intrigue—much is, we think, fairly attributable to his political position, which had become so—what the French call —*faux*, as to be untenable; and the efforts which he was obliged to

to make to balance himself on the unsteady pinnacle where he stood, looked to the vulgar below like the contortions of a posture-master. Lord Brougham is a person of great, but in a peculiar degree restless and discursive, ability; and he had, in the heat of his zeal and the vanity of his supposed influence, mingled himself in so many projects, and allied himself with so many persons, which and whom he found, on experience, to be wild and dangerous, that he was driven at last to an alternative between his consistency and his duty—between what he owed to his own indiscreet pledges on one hand, and to the safety of the constitution on the other. If Lord Brougham could have 'screwed his courage to A *sticking place*' he would not have been reduced to his present anomalous, and, for the moment, almost ridiculous isolation; if he had sacrificed his conscience to his popularity he would have still obtained the applauses of the numerous and noisy party which he had so long flattered; or if he had repudiated that hollow popularity to devote his conscientious, and (therefore more than ever) powerful exertions to the maintenance of the constitution, he would have won the confidence of the still more numerous and infinitely more respectable party, to which experience and reason had, it seems, begun to incline him. This we believe to be a not inaccurate view of Lord Brougham's position; and we are not wholly without hope that the interval which has been allowed him for thought and reflection may have tended to confirm him in his later and better dispositions.

Of the more immediate causes of the actual dissolution of Lord Melbourne's Cabinet, we gave our opinion in the Postscript to the concluding article of our last Number. We stated, and we repeat, that it was obvious that it must have happened whenever they should have attempted to prepare the king's speech, and arrange the other measures of the approaching session; and that the death of Lord Spencer only accelerated by a few weeks what was, from other causes, inevitable. When by this event they were obliged to proceed to the selection of a new Chancellor of the Exchequer and a new leader of the House of Commons, it became indispensable to arrange also the future conduct and policy of the government, but it was evident that no such line could be unanimously agreed upon! We intimated, that, although Lord Melbourne produced to the king a series of arrangements and alterations for filling up the vacant places, and for, what his lordship might call, carrying on the government, he, at the same time, could not conceal from His Majesty that there was, at least, one great and vital question—that of the church—on which there must exist irreconcileable differences between two sections of the ministry; and it followed, that, whenever *that* question should be brought

brought into discussion, the dissolution of the Cabinet must ensue. The king, therefore, saw that the proposal made to him could only have the effect of patching up a provisional expedient, and postponing the dissolution of the Cabinet to, in His Majesty's judgment, a less convenient season. He, therefore, thought it better to do at that moment what he saw he must inevitably be called upon to do within a few months, perhaps a few weeks; and he therefore, from no other immediate motive than his communications with Lord Melbourne, came to the resolution of changing his ministers.

This statement on our part was met in some of the Whig newspapers by a positive contradiction. We re-assert our belief of its general accuracy, and all that we have heard reported from every quarter makes us wonder at the temerity which thus denied its truth. We did not mean to state, that the members of the Cabinet were, at the moment of its dissolution, at *actual variance* with each other: though the *lingering resignation of Mr. Ellice*—a symptom which has not been sufficiently noticed—might have justified such a suspicion. But the variance, to which we then alluded, was *prospective*—we stated, not that it had occurred, but that it was inevitable—not that the Cabinet had discussed the Church question and divided on it, but that the sentiments of its members had been so far declared, that Lord Melbourne saw that whenever the question should be discussed, there would be found irreconcilable differences between opposite parties; and that it was in the prospect of such future, but inevitable differences, that the King did in November what he must eventually have done when parliament should have met. This is, we had reason to suppose and we still believe, a true statement of the case; every thing that has since transpired tends to confirm our confidence in its substantial accuracy, and we have seen, in some of the best-informed journals, certain details which corroborate our opinions; for instance, it has been stated—and never, that we have seen, contradicted—that Lord John Russell—the proposed leader of the House of Commons—was *pledged* to a measure of *Church Reform*, to which Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Secretary Rice had declared themselves *hostile;* and as Mr. Rice and Lord Lansdowne were certainly two of the ablest and most respectable members of the Cabinet, their secession on a question so vital, and on which their sentiments approached most nearly to those of the King himself, *must* have occasioned its dissolution. When parliament meets, we perhaps may have some further details on this subject, but we are satisfied that they cannot *substantially* differ from our general statement; and—however willing it may appear that individuals were, by any compromise or sacrifice, to

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duce, by a pretended free trade, and a system of fraudulent reciprocity which is to be all on one side!—*Colonies?* Already in the crucible!—*Public Credit?* Questioned in its principle, and in practice placed in nightly jeopardy!—The rights and properties of *Municipal Corporations?* To be seized, abolished, and confiscated! —*The Universities?* If permitted to survive at all, to be forcibly diverted from their proper objects, and compelled to violate the institutions of their founders and the consciences of their members!—*The House of Lords?* Bullied, denounced, and devoted to immediate mutilation and ultimate annihilation!—*The House of Commons?*—yea, the reformed House itself, and even the idolized Reform Bill,—threatened with a radical subversion by means of annual elections, vote by ballot, and (by a large and consistent class of reformers) universal suffrage!—Nay, the very *integrity of the Empire* is at stake; and a majority, we are told, of the Irish representatives are pledged to attempt the repeal of the Union!—and finally, and most fearfully of all, the Protestant religion itself is to be stripped of its established rights—its connexion with the state, coeval with the state itself, is to be forcibly dissolved—it is to become merely a tolerated sect, and its evangelical truth and divine doctrine are to be placed by *law* on the same level with popery, unitarianism, Judaism, and all the nameless varieties of dissent and infidelity! These are the prospects of the *Movement* system. They are no idle fears—no visions of a timid fancy. Every one of these various inroads on the constitution, and several others too tedious and too odious to enumerate, have been openly stated, avowed, and advocated by one class or other of that *now united and unanimous body*, which has arrayed itself against Sir Robert Peel's administration. Most of them have been authenticated by pledges entered on the *notice books* of the two last sessions. No individual, perhaps, contemplates, or would *à priori* approve, the simultaneous success of *all* these propositions; but every faction will pursue its own object, and by a compromise with the exigences of each other, the whole will be driven to concur in the universal change. All who take a share in the battle will claim a share of the spoil. The enemies of the Throne—and of the Church—and of the Protestant Establishments—and of the Colonial system—and of Protecting Duties—and of the House of Lords—and of the Reform Bill—and of the Irish Union—and of ALL our other institutions, will, by what the mathematicians call the *amotion of each part*, arrive at the destruction of the whole. It will be an enlarged copy of the proscriptions of the Roman Triumvirate.

'*Antony.*—These many, then, shall die; their names are pricked.
Octavius.—Your brother, too, must die: consent you, Lepidus?

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give them no influence in society. They are either the votaries and dupes of their own personal vanity, surprised and rejoiced to find an occasion of notoriety—or the disappointed and soured objects of some degree or species of public disapprobation. Look at some of the men returned even to Parliament by the most numerous, and what are therefore called the most respectable, constituencies—are they men in any respect entitled to have a voice in the government of the country? Would they be admitted into a club which was nice in its selection? Might we not rather ask, as we happen to know an elector in one of the metropolitan boroughs did in speaking with a brother tradesman, 'How can any men of common sense confide the care of their lives and properties to persons whom in their individual capacities they would not trust with ten pounds' worth of their goods?' One or two names might justify the indignant exclamation of Cicero—'O tempora! O mores!—Senatus hæc intelligit; consul vidit—hic tamen vivit—Vivit?—immò verò etiam *in senatum venit—fit publici concilii particeps!*'

And what definite object, what limit is to be assigned to this feverish state of agitation, this delirious desire of change? Does not increase of appetite grow in all such matters by what it feeds on? Does any one believe that the House of Commons of 1831 would have read the Reform Bill a second time, by a majority of *one*, if it could have entered their imaginations that, within two or three years, that enormous, that overwhelming concession, at which the boldest Whig

'Held his breath—
For a time,'

—should turn out to be not a *sop*, but a *whet* to the many-headed Cerberus of democracy; and that every privilege, every right, every establishment, every institution of the country, were to be assailed—and the assault defended and applauded—as the *natural consequence* of a measure which, they were told, was to be a *final* and *satisfactory* adjustment of the constitutional balance? Would that some one would write the history of *Concession!* We can only indicate its genealogy—which is like a Welch pedigree, in which Owen Griffith begets Griffith Owen, and Griffith Owen begets another Owen Griffith, and so on alternately to the end of the chapter. Agitation begets concession, and then concession produces agitation, and the new agitation is followed by another concession, and it by a fresh agitation—and so on, till there shall be nothing left to *concede*, and all is blind and indiscriminate Innovation, roaming in vain for something else to devour, in a desert which it has denuded and depopulated. Can a nation exist in such a state of excitement, feud, worry, uncertainty, terror, and confusion, as England has undergone

undergone for the last four years; and as it is the object of the present coalition of Ultra-Whigs and Radicals to maintain, exasperate, and extend?

But the mischief is not only direct and immediate, it is prospective and growing; it disturbs the present—it blights the future; it renders fearful every beneficent effort towards reform—it renders suspicious the sacred influences of liberty, when we see their names assumed by ignorance and anarchy, and prostituted to purposes which must in the end defeat all useful improvements, and endanger all rational freedom. It was the intolerable tyranny of the Commonwealth which—to the common misfortune of king and people—hurried the nation to restore Charles II. without adjusting the difficulties which had created the Grand Rebellion, and which, afterwards reviving, produced the Revolution. In the same way, if these insane paroxysms of agitation were to be protracted much longer, the spirit of the country would flag under the habitual exhaustion—the most necessary reforms would become unpopular—the very name would be irksome and alarming—till the nation would feel like the poet—

> 'That when contending chiefs blockade the throne,
> Contracting regal power to stretch their own—
> When I behold a *factious band* agree
> To call it freedom when themselves are free—
> Fear, pity, justice, indignation start,
> Tear off reserve and swell my bursting heart,
> 'Till half a patriot, half a coward grown,
> I fly from petty tyrants to the throne.'

The accession of Sir Robert Peel to the Government has already done much towards dispelling these delusions of faction,

example of our ancestors. *I would make the reparation as nearly as possible in the style of the building.* A politic caution, a guarded circumspection, a moral rather than a constitutional timidity, were the ruling principles of our forefathers even in their most decided conduct.'—*Reflexions*, p. 437.

The first great question now about to be decided is, whether the House of Commons is actuated by a like spirit of moderation, discretion, and justice; or is it resolved *to strike without hearing*, and to rush at once into the chaos of general innovation?—which, in short, does it intend—REFORM *or*—REVOLUTION?

We cannot—even after all the mischief which we predicted and have witnessed from the Reform Bill—we cannot bring ourselves to doubt that there still remain too much good sense, too much traditional attachment and too much rational respect for the principles of the constitution, to render possible the latter alternative. The day of such suicidal insanity may come—but we trust and believe that it is not yet arrived. We are aware that a considerable number of Members have, either in accordance with their own sentiments, or in the hope of propitiating certain classes of constituents, pledged themselves on the hustings to various extremities of reform, and—as a natural consequence—to an uncomprising hostility to the present administration. No doubt these gentlemen, with such of the Whigs as have made common cause with them, will form a very numerous and—as long as the question is only opposition to Sir Robert Peel—compact and unanimous body; but we hesitate not to predict, without making or meaning any individual allusions, that they will be found more deficient in ability, character, and social consideration, than any party, of anything like equal numbers, that ever marshalled itself in the House of Commons. On the other hand, there is a body, we believe, much more numerous, and certainly more distinguished for property, intelligence, respectability, parliamentary talent, and political experience, which professes its entire confidence in his Majesty's ministers, and we are equally satisfied that the people in the country at large—taking the term *people* in its ancient and legitimate sense *—are in a still greater proportion disposed to Conservative politics.

But there is a *third* division—we cannot call it a *party*—in the House of Commons, which must be of great importance, and to whose conduct we look, not without anxiety indeed, but with a strong predominance of hope. We mean those who have not as yet indicated, or at least professed, a decided bias either towards the ministry or its opponents. The *number* of these gentlemen,

* See Mr. Burke's definition of a *People* as distinguished from 'a multitude told by the head' in his '*Appeal from the new Whigs to the old*,'—an essay whose reasonings, as well as its *title*, are wonderfully apposite to our present condition.

we

we—who are certainly not in the secret of parliamentary parties—cannot venture to calculate; but their intermediate position and their present independence invest them in this crisis with great consideration. Of them it may be generally said, that their principles and opinions tend rather to those of the ministry, while their personal attachments and predilections incline towards the Whigs. Indeed, in ordinary times and circumstances, we should not have hesitated to designate about two-thirds of them as *moderate Whigs*, and to have divided them in that proportion between the Government and the Opposition: but these are no ordinary times and circumstances—blind and dear must they be who can believe that it is the success of a *party* which is at stake. Would to God that we could persuade ourselves it were so!—We should then look on the conflict—not without interest, certainly—but without that painful, that absorbing anxiety which we now feel from the conviction, that the ensuing session—perhaps the next few weeks will decide the fate of our monarchical Constitution, and of all the various interests which are, as we believe, inseparably connected and identified with it.

But even this intensity of feeling affords us some consolation. We cannot think that what appears so clear to us should be obscure to the intelligent and influential persons who compose this third section of the House of Commons, and who represent, not a larger, but a respectable portion of public opinion. Their experience is too great, their minds are too acute, to be deceived by a popular show of words, and believing that Sir Robert Peel's present effort is not prompted by party, and in particular for the *Tory* party. The very preliminaries of the formation of his government contradict any such supposition. Whatever his high mission re-

imputed that either he who proposed, or those who were invited, or those who have accepted, would have had to make, or have made, any sacrifice of principle by the association. The circumstances of the times are such that Whigs of the school of Walpole, Pelham, Burke, Windham, or even Grattan and Fox, ought, in the fair construction and application of the principles of those great men, to be now *Conservatives.*

Indeed, nothing can be more certain than that, if men were guided by the *principles* rather than by the *nicknames* of parties, the Whigs ought to be the most zealous supporters of the new administration. This is so well and so decisively put by Lord Mahon in a History of the Reign of George I., of which—though not yet published—we have been favoured with the perusal, that we cannot refrain from extracting the following interesting passage:—

'The two great contending parties were distinguished, as at present, by the nicknames of Whig and Tory. But it is very remarkable, that in Queen Anne's reign the relative meaning of these terms was not only different but opposite to that which they bore at the accession of William IV. In theory, indeed, the main principle of each continues the same. The leading principle of the Tories is the dread of popular licentiousness; the leading principle of the Whigs is the dread of royal encroachment. It may thence, perhaps, be deduced, that good and wise men would attach themselves either to the Whig or to the Tory party, according as there seemed to be the greater danger, at that particular period, from despotism or from democracy. The same person who would have been a Whig in 1712, would be a Tory in 1830. For, on examination, it will be found that in nearly all particulars, a modern Tory resembles a Whig of Queen Anne's reign, and a Tory of Queen Anne's reign a modern Whig.

'First, as to the Tories. The Tories in Queen Anne's reign pursued a most unceasing opposition to a just and glorious war. They treated the great general of the age as their peculiar enemy. They wished for a close connexion and unreserved intercourse with France. They had an indifference or even an aversion to our old allies the Dutch. They had a political leaning towards the Roman Catholics at home. They were supported by the Roman Catholics in their elections. They had a love of triennial parliaments in preference to septennial. They attempted to abolish the protecting duties and restrictions of commerce. They wished to favour our trade with France at the expense of our trade with Portugal. To serve a temporary purpose in the House of Lords, they had recourse (for the first time in our annals) to a large and overwhelming creation of peers. Like the Whigs in May, 1831, they chose the moment of the highest popular passion and excitement to dissolve the House of Commons, hoping to avail themselves of a temporary cry for the purpose of permanent delusion.

'The Whigs of Queen Anne's time, on the other hand, supported that splendid war which led to such victories as Ramillies and Blenheim.

monly designated as *Conservative* and *Destructive*—any intermediate shade would be, we are convinced, an utter delusion. In Lord Grey's Cabinet the Destructive principle was already so strong as to eject himself—having previously ejected Lord Stanley and his friends. Of Lord Melbourne's Cabinet it became the majority, and would, by this time, have ejected Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Rice; and we have little doubt that Lord Melbourne himself would soon have followed. In short, it is quite natural, and even laudable in any party which is sincere in its opinions, and which possesses the power, to insist on supplying to the government both *its men* and *its measures*. *That* the Radical party are now ready to attempt.

We therefore do not blame the principle, though we may question the prudence and propriety of the design which has been avowed, of endeavouring to place a radical Speaker in the chair to the exclusion of Sir Charles Manners Sutton, who has filled that difficult station for *eight* parliaments, and *eighteen* years, with, as we have always understood, the unanimous approbation of all parties—unanimous in that alone. The pretence under which this bold stroke of the Radicals for immediate ascendency offers itself, is Sir Charles's supposed preference of Conservative politics, evinced by his attending His Majesty's Privy Council during the late interregnum. Let us say two words on this strange accusation, and the stranger arguments and consequences to which it leads. 'We *suspect*,' say the Destructives, 'Sir Charles Sutton of party predilection;—let us replace him, therefore, by the most determined party man among us. Sir Charles Sutton attended a routine *Privy Council* of Conservatives; let us put into the impartial chair an active member of the *late Cabinet*. No man who has once belonged to a party can quit it with honour—Sir Charles was a Tory eighteen years ago, and because he now seems to be a Conservative he is unworthy of re-election.' Sir Charles is now, no doubt, as he has been during his long and distinguished public life, a Conservative; but he is no more so than he always has been, when eight times elected, re-elected, and led to the chair by Lord Morpeth and Sir Francis Burdett, amidst the cheers of the Whigs, full as zealous in his praise as the Tories. 'But the attendance at the Privy Council!' The blunder—the absurd inanity of this complaint—is really most extraordinary. It is notorious to every man, who even knows as much of public business as the *Court Circular* supplies to the newspapers, that at those kind of Councils there is no deliberation on questions of confidential policy—nothing is or can be done but *formal* and ministerial acts, which the law requires to be passed by the King in Council—and that it is necessary to have a certain *quorum* to compose such Councils.

Councils. At the season when these events took place there were very few Privy Councillors in town, and Sir Charles Manners Sutton would also have been absent, but the burning of the House of Commons having accidentally brought him up and kept him in London, he was summoned—as any other Councillor who had happened to be in town would have been—to attend to compose a quorum to do the routine business of the country.

It may at first sight seem strange that the Opposition should resolve to try its strength on a personal question against so deservedly popular a Speaker, and on such ridiculous and groundless pretences. But there is another circumstance which would render the success of this attempt as inconvenient and injurious to the public service as it would be personally inconsistent and unjust. Not to insist on the general advantage of having a person of Sir Charles Sutton's qualifications in the chair, it is peculiarly desirable at this moment, when the change of the place of meeting will require all that learning and experience in parliamentary practice, principles, and precedents, can supply, to facilitate the adaptation of the old forms and traditionary regulations and habits of the House of Commons to the new locality. This may appear a secondary consideration, but to those who understand parliamentary business it will appear one of such importance, that we really believe that, if Sir Charles Sutton had himself personally wished to be relieved from the duties of the chair, the government, and every member who felt interested, not merely for the convenient dispatch of business, but for the privileges and customs of the House of Commons, would have thought themselves justified in requiring from the Right Honourable Gentleman's patriotism that he should consent to resume his

been able to imagine for a proceeding that, on all other suppositions, seems so unaccountable. Not that this motive would be, *in fact*, less absurd than the other, but it is not so offensively palpable; and it seems to us to be a device of about the kind of petty manœuvre and small ingenuity which might be expected from Lord John Russell—who, on this occasion, by soliciting Mr. Abercrombie, in the name of the party, to give into this project, seems to announce himself as the new leader of the Opposition: by whom elected into that station which has been heretofore filled by Fox, Grey, Tierney, and Brougham, we have not heard—nay, it has been called even by Whigs as gross a case of *self-election* as any close corporation in the kingdom can show; and it is even said that one of the motives of the measure itself may be the opportunity which its announcement gives Lord John, of jumping into a situation to which he never would have been invited. However that may be, and whether the object and intention be a personal injustice or a political juggle, we are equally satisfied that it will be signally defeated; and that it will tend most potently to increase the distrust with which all moderate men already view the *radical coalition*, and to stimulate the anxiety of the public that the King's servants should have a calm hearing and a fair trial. Under all these circumstances we think we may venture to assert, from this now avowed union between the late Ministers and the Radicals and their violent resolution to attack the Speaker on such ridiculous grounds, that the Government, if it be not *Conservative*, must of necessity be *Radical* in the fullest extent of the term. The choice is thus narrowed to *Destructive* or *Conservative*, and between these two broad principles the House of Commons is now called upon to make its election.

But it may be said, could there be no other *Conservative* government than that of Sir Robert Peel—might not, for instance, Lord Stanley be placed at the head of a combination more congenial to the Whigs and less formidable to the Radicals? The theory of such a combination is absurd *ex hypothesi*, which rests on the basis of conservation—and it would be found, we are confident, utterly impracticable when brought to the test. Where, in such a case, would Lord Stanley have to look for colleagues—to the Cabinet which he had so recently quitted, or to that which he had just declined to join? This difficulty (not to mention fifty others) seems to us insuperable. Lord Stanley might, if his principles would allow, join the *Movement*—or he may, if his delicacy will permit, join the Government; and in either event his co-operation would be powerful for evil or for good—but we cannot imagine any permanent intermediate space. If Sir Robert Peel fulfils

fils his professions—as no one doubts that he will—by correcting all acknowledged abuses, and operating all salutary reforms, he will leave no man any resting-place between him and Mr. O'Connell; and after such repeated proofs as Lord Stanley has given of his resolution to maintain the Constitution in Church and State, we cannot bring ourselves to entertain any doubt whatsoever of the side on which his influence and his talents will be eventually employed. We can fully appreciate the feelings which induced him to decline Sir Robert Peel's proposition; and although, on the whole, we wish that he had accepted it, (which we certainly should not do if we thought it any way derogatory to his character, which, for public objects, we prize as much as any of his fondest friends,) we must confess, that if he erred, he erred on the safe side of disinterestedness and delicacy, and that his support of the Constitution may be, for a time, the more powerful and effective for being given with the cordiality of private conviction, uninfluenced by any bias of official obligation. But Lord Stanley must be aware that he is too considerable a person to 'hang loose on political society.' A statesman may, for a season, content himself with giving a parliamentary support to a particular line of measures; but candour, and honour, and indeed the *necessities* of political life, will soon force him to take an official responsibility in the councils which he thus approves. Events may hasten or retard Lord Stanley's decision, but it must be made—and we confess that we look forward with considerable confidence and satisfaction to his taking, at no distant period, the only course consistent, as we think, with his honour and character. If we are not mistaken in our estimate of his Lordship's principles and of the nature of the questions that must arise, every night of the session must show more strongly his

abuses, and to concede to public opinion all that can be conceded with safety and without dishonour—by the strict economy of which he and the most illustrious of his colleagues gave such practical pledges in their former administration—if, we say, his talents, his integrity, his conciliation, his liberality, his firmness, and the congenial spirit which pervades his Cabinet, cannot recommend—even for a fair trial—the Sovereign's choice to the sanction of parliament, then shall we arrive at the final and fatal confirmation of all our fears. It will be no longer doubtful that *government*, according to the old practice and principles of the Constitution, has become impracticable, and that the monarchy is in imminent danger of subversion, and the nation itself of anarchy. Let those by whose votes these momentous questions are to be determined duly appreciate the awful responsibility of their decision, and recollect that they will have to render an account—not only to this or that *weathercock* body of constituents, but—to their consciences, their families, and their *country*—for a vote which—however the formal question may be shaped—must involve the security of their and our properties, liberties, and lives.

NOTE on p. 492 of No. CIV.

WE are concerned to find that the newspapers had misled us on a point not indifferent to the personal feelings of Mr. Robert Montgomery, Author of the "Omnipresence of the Deity," &c. &c. Mr. Montgomery has taken the most effectual means of satisfying us on this head: he has forwarded to us a copy of the Baptismal Register of Weston, 8th Nov. 1807, which proves that the story of his having *assumed* the name by which he has become known is utterly false and unfounded. How it originated we need not inquire—but we sincerely hope never to see it revived again.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Marie, ou l'Esclavage aux Etats-Unis, Tableau de Mœurs Américaines, par* Gustave de Beaumont, *l'un des Auteurs de l'ouvrage intitulé* Du Systême Pénitentiaire aux Etats-Unis. Paris. 2 tomes. 8vo. 1835.

2. *The Stranger in America.* By F. Lieber, Editor of the Encyclopædia Americana. 2 vols., 12mo. London, 1835.

3. *New England and her Institutions, by One of her Sons.* London. 12mo. 1835.

THE French book now before us is the most interesting one that has ever yet been published on the subject of American society and manners by a native of the European continent. Indeed, we are of opinion that it is in some respects more curious than any work on the same topics that has lately issued from the British press. M. de Beaumont is fairly entitled to be placed, as regards intellectual powers and accomplishments, on as high a level as any English traveller of our time; and if he has fallen into some trivial blunders and mistakes to which no Englishman could have been liable, he seems, on the other hand, to have resided much longer in America than any one of our authors of the better order whose observations have as yet been made public; and, what is of even more importance, *he must* be universally allowed to have studied the social circumstances and peculiarities of the United States, not only uninfluenced by the slightest feeling of hostility or jealousy, but with the strongest predisposition to see in them every thing to admire and applaud. M. de Beaumont was in heart a republican when he arrived in the New World, and he has returned as good a republican as ever. He announces himself as on principle the enemy of aristocracy and of all aristocratical institutions; and he avows his belief that the democratic system of government, as now established in America, is the best machinery that ever was invented for developing the political independence and happiness of mankind. But here he stops. Admitting—as what sane traveller ever denied?—that in the United States of America there are to be found many gentlemen whose personal qualities would, in every respect, fit them for the most refined of European circles, he tells us, over and over again, that these are remarkable exceptions to the rule—that the merely utilitarian

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animus, all but universally prevalent, is incompatible not only with the graces and elegancies of social intercourse, but with some of the real solid virtues of the individual character. He affirms, *passim*, that all the defects on which our travellers have expatiated are of trivial importance, when considered along with the political excellencies and advantages which have been the nobler fruits of the same soil; but, with regard to those defects themselves, he frankly and decidedly confirms by his own testimony almost every statement that had been denounced as false and absurd, or at all events grossly exaggerated and distorted, by the American censors of our Halls and Hamiltons.

M. de Beaumont has chosen to give his main *tableau* in the form of a novel; but he says in his preface, that, though his personages are fictitious, every trait of character has been sketched from the life, and that almost every incident in his tale may be depended on as a fact which had fallen under his own observation. The reader, after this statement, will be prepared to find the incidents few, and the commentaries copious; but, nevertheless, the tale is one of considerable interest, and displays in parts a larger share of the true genius of romance than we have recently met with in any production of its class. The composition is now and then deformed with some of those extravagancies which the example of the affected novel-wrights now flourishing in Germany—the drivelling caricaturists of her dead classics—has of late made popular at Paris; but it is, on the whole, characterized by merits of a distinguished order. In the portraiture both of natural scenery and of human passion the writer has occasionally attained high excellence; and his general strain of thought and feeling must be allowed, even by those who, on isolated points, differ from him the most widely, to be that of a scholar and a gentleman.

'The Stranger in America' is the work of another foreigner—a German, who has, however, lived nearly twenty years in the United States, and writes English almost like an Englishman. His book is a nondescript farrago of shrewd observations, piquant anecdotes, and melancholy sentimentalities; but it is particularly deserving of our attention as proceeding from a professed admirer, not only of the institutions—but of the manners of the Americans. Mr. Lieber had, indeed, shown on a previous occasion his lively sympathy with the people among whom he has domesticated himself; for, if we recollect rightly, in the modification of the Conversation-Lexicon, edited by him at New York, while Julius Cæsar occupies a column, and Napoleon Buonaparte a couple of pages, nearly a sheet is filled with the achievements of Andrew Jackson. On the present occasion we may probably be obliged to this liberal exile for a few extracts in corroboration or illustration of M. de

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The outline of *Marie* may be given in few words. A young Frenchman—disgusted with the degraded condition of his own country, under the *disappointment* of the Three Glorious Days—determines to seek for himself an establishment in the great sanctuary of liberty, equality, and philosophy beyond the Atlantic. He arrives at Baltimore, and is hospitably received by Mr. Daniel Nelson, a leading citizen of that town, president of its Bible Society, its Temperance Society, and its Colonization Society, who, after realizing a fair fortune in commerce, and aspiring to the first political stations of the Republic, had, towards the decline of life, assumed the office of minister in a Presbyterian congregation there, and who is throughout represented as a pure and dignified specimen of the genuine descendants of the Puritan Pilgrims. Mr. Nelson's family consists of a son and a daughter, a high-spirited youth and a most enchanting girl, the former of whom becomes the chosen friend of the French stranger, while the latter is, of course, the heroine of his heart and of this novel. The progress of the love-story is energetically sketched; and in due time M. Ludovic solicits the worthy Nelson's consent to his marriage with the charming *Marie.* The father, after much hesitation, avows that this connexion would be in every respect agreeable to himself, but that, in justice to Ludovic, he must forbid it. In a word, Mr. Nelson had married, while engaged in commerce at New Orleans, a lady, one of whose ancestors a century back was a Mulatto: no one at Baltimore knew this circumstance—no trace of African descent could be detected in the noble features and radiant complexions of the young Nelsons—but still the fact might some day or other transpire, and in that case the French lover must be assured that, though a marriage between him and *Marie* would be perfectly valid according to the laws of the country, the usages of the country, more powerful than any law, would denounce it as an abomination—his wife, his children, to the remotest generation, must be excluded from the society of *the American people* as outcasts and Parias.

'The bankrupt of Massachusetts finds honour and fortune in Louisiana, where no one inquires of what miseries he has been the cause in another place. The inhabitant of New York, on whom the fetters of a first wedlock press disagreeably, leaves his wife on the left bank of the Hudson, takes a new one on the right bank, and lives a tranquil bigamist in New Jersey. The thief and the forger, branded by the severe code of Rhode Island, discover, without difficulty, both employment and consideration in Connecticut. There is but one crime of which the culprit carries everywhere with him the punishment and the infamy: it is that of belonging to a family reputed to be *of colour.* The colour washed out, the disgrace remains; it seems as

if they could divine it long after it has ceased to be visible; there is no asylum so sacred, no retreat so obscure, as to afford it shelter or shade.'—*Marie*, vol. i. p. 177.

The youthful enthusiast at first thinks the venerable Presbyterian is jesting with him — but by degrees his eyes are opened to a full perception of the tyrannical injustice with which all, in whose veins there is one drop of black blood, are systematically treated by the nation whose first maxim is the equality of all mankind in the sight of God *and man.* Ludovic, of course, disdains to be thwarted by a prejudice which he considers as alike absurd and cruel—and would either run all risks with his Mary in America, or abandon his own original plans and carry her to France. On the latter of these alternatives Daniel Nelson sets at once his determined *veto.* His ancestors had been driven from Europe by religious persecution—he nor no child of his, with his consent, shall ever set foot on the shores of the old world. As to the former scheme, he demands that Ludovic should spend six months in travelling through the different states of the Union, and observe for himself, in city, town, and hamlet, the manners of the people, and most especially the actual treatment of the coloured race, before the negociation goes farther. Ludovic sets out on his travels accordingly, being accompanied or soon joined by his future brother-in-law, George Nelson. In consequence of the malevolence of a dark half-Spanish scoundrel, whose path in life and love had been many years ago crossed by Mr. Daniel Nelson, the unhappy taint in George's blood is betrayed to the audience of a theatre in Philadelphia, where he and Ludovic are seated together in the pit. The *man of colour* is immediately kicked out of the playhouse with every wantonness of contumely;* and his friend discovers that no court, either of law or of honour, can be expected to afford any redress whatever for such an injury. George parts from his friend—and is mixed up in an insurrection of slaves in South Carolina, which is for a season successful. Meanwhile, Ludovic continues his travels until, the term of his probation being at length expired, he rejoins the elder Nelson, who is now at New York, and, unchanged in his resolves by all the miseries he had witnessed, claims the hand of his affianced beauty. Nelson no longer refuses his consent. The bridal party repair to the Catholic church, where the nuptial ceremony is, in the first instance, to be performed, according to the religion of the bridegroom—the Presbyterian formula to succeed in the course of the morning. But scarcely has the benediction of the Romish priest been pronounced, when the famous *émeute* of August, 1834, attains its height. The

* M. de Beaumont witnessed such an occurrence.

white

white population are risen in arms to massacre the people of colour. The rumour that a white man is in the act of espousing a girl of mixed descent somehow reaches the fanatical insurgents, and a general rush is made on the Popish chapel.* The heroine's life is only saved by the desperate valour of Ludovic, and of her brother George, who appears, *deus ex machinâ*, at the moment of utmost peril. Daniel Nelson, having escorted Ludovic and Mary into the forest, bids them fly to the shores of Lake Ontario, where, as soon as he can arrange his worldly affairs, he will join them, never again to revisit the guilty haunts of mankind—but cautions the young couple that, in the meantime, the knot has been only half tied, and they must not consider themselves as spouses, until the Presbyterian ceremony also shall have been performed *jure solenni.*

We shall not spoil the interest of the fictitious part of this work by any details of its *denouement.* It must be enough to say, that the stories of the virgin-bride and the rebel-brother end alike unhappily; that Ludovic is left a solitary creature, while yet in the bloom of manhood, to inhabit a wigwam and watch a tomb amidst the darkest wildernesses of the Canadian frontier; and to repeat that, however bald and naked our imperfect outline may seem, the author has in various chapters of his novel, but especially in some of the forest-scenes towards its close, exhibited very noble passion in language worthy of its energy. Our object has been simply to put the reader in possession of some general notion of the form under which (unfortunately as we think) M. de Beaumont has thought fit to shadow out the narrative of his own travels in the United States. The six months' probationary tour of Ludovic is, in short, that part of the work to which we would call special attention on this occasion: and with our extracts from the chapters which it occupies, we shall not hesitate to intermingle some passages from the notes and appendices given by M. de Beaumont in his own proper person. Indeed, the author identifies himself so openly with his imaginary hero, that we need have no scruples on that subject. The tone, remarks, and reflections, in the text and the notes, are so completely the same, that if we did not label our selections, we believe no reader would be able to guess from which department of the book almost any one of them had been taken.

We do not propose at present to enter at length upon the professed primary object of M. de Beaumont,—his exposition of the one great political crime with which he charges the American nation—viz., the cruel tyranny with which the coloured race are univer-

* The details of this scandalous outrage are given in an appendix. The riot, it appears, did begin in consequence of a rumour of a mixed marriage. Several chapels and theatres frequented by the blacks were burnt to the ground, and the clergyman who was to have performed the offensive ceremony had a narrow escape with his life.

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was struck, in contemplating all this, with a melancholy truth. Public Opinion, so beneficent when it protects, is, when it persecutes, the most cruel of all tyrants.

'This Public Opinion, all-powerful in the United States, demands the oppression of a detested race, and there is no check upon its hatred. In general, it belongs to the wisdom of legislators to correct manners by laws, which laws are again corrected by manners. This moderating power has no existence in the United States. The people which hates the negroes makes also the laws: the people names the magistrates, and, to please the people, every functionary must take part in its passions. The popular sovereignty is irresistible in its impulses; its least hints are commands; it does not *mend* its indocile agents, it *breaks* them. It is then the people, with its passions, that governs: the coloured race in America undergoes the government of hatred and contempt: everywhere I was forced to recognize the tyrannies of the popular will.'—vol. i. p. 174.

We are not sufficiently informed concerning the discipline and pecuniary arrangements of the Romish Church in the United States, to be able to offer any satisfactory comment on some of the foregoing statements. It is, however, obvious that the Catholic priest there stands in a relation to his flock very different from what has recently been described as the rule in Ireland by Mr. O'Croly; and we need not point out to our readers that what M. de Beaumont denounces as a vice inherent in the very nature of 'the Protestant system' has nothing whatever to do with Protestantism, but springs solely and exclusively from that 'voluntary system' of ecclesiastical government and finance which, as the cases of Ireland and America show, may be adopted with equal facility, and with equally fatal results, in a community whether of Catholics or of Protestants.

Our reader was probably a little startled by M. de Beaumont's account of Mr. David Nelson's sudden transition from the commerce of Baltimore to the pastoral superintendence of a Presbyterian congregation in that city. Such changes, however, appear to be by no means uncommon among the members of more than one of the religious sects now flourishing in the United States; and, indeed, they always will occur where there is nothing *indelible* in the character of the minister of the Gospel. Instances, and very disgusting ones, might be pointed out even in our own day in the case of one of the most respectable religious communities in our own part of the world—the Established Church of Scotland. But public opinion in Scotland, and all over Europe, sets its face against such things—and their occurrence is, accordingly, so rare as to claim little notice. In America, on the contrary, that seems to be the rule, which with any Protestant body in Europe is the exception. It appears, however, that the change *from* the pulpit

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to the counter is much more common than that exemplified in the history of Mr. David Nelson of Baltimore; and the fact is explained by M. de Beaumont on principles which he seems to have investigated with ample care, and illustrated with shrewdness and ingenuity.

'The facility of reaching the priesthood among the Americans stamps a very peculiar character on the protestant ministry: every man may, without any preparation or study worth speaking of, become a minister. The priesthood, in short, is a line of business into which one may enter at any time of life, in any rank of life, according to one's notions of convenience. He whom you behold at the head of a respectable congregation began by keeping a *store* in the next street: he was unfortunate in his *store*, and took to the new trade of a minister. This gentleman, again, began with the priesthood, but as soon as he had cleared a certain sum, he left the pulpit for the counting-house. Nothing binds him to his congregation, the moment his interest calls him elsewhere. *Nothing is more rare than to see a protestant minister with a hoary head.* The principal object which an American has in view in his sacred office is the worldly fortune of himself, his wife, his children. When he has materially improved his pecuniary condition, his end has been attained, and he then shuts up shop. The reader will of course understand that I do not apply all this to every protestant minister in America: by no means; I met with several whose sincere faith and ardent zeal were only equalled by their charity and contempt of all temporal interests: I give the traits which characterize the great majority.'—vol. ii. p. 187.—*Note.*

We are inclined, after all, to suspect that M. de Beaumont found most of his examples of this kind of *transition* among the Unitarians of America a sect, if it deserves to be called one, which he seems to have pretty well appreciated; for he says—

'The Unitarians are the *philosophers* of the United States. Public

a dogma of religion—but of all the States of the Union. Everywhere professions, employments, trades—commerce, literature, the bar, public office, the ministry of religion, are walks of industry: those who take to them may be more or less fortunate, more or less rich, but they are equals—they do not follow the same pursuits, but pursuits of the same nature. From the foot-boy to the President at Washington, from the man-machine whose animal force turns a wheel, to the man of genius who creates a sublime idea, all are at work in their vocations —all performing analogous duties. This explains why the white domestic is the *aid* or *help*, but not the *servant* of his employer; and this also explains the style in which all commercial business is carried on. The American trader gains, to be sure, as much money of you as he can—I even believe that he often cheats the purchaser—but in no case would he receive a farthing beyond his demand, were he but the poorest keeper of a pot-house. It is just so with the workman, the messenger, the waiter of an hotel; all ask their legitimate salary, the price of their lab ou but to accept more than what is due would be to receive alms—to confess *inferiority*. We now understand why the President of the United States receives every man who approaches him on a footing of the most perfect equality, and begins by shaking him cordially by the hand. I have often heard men in the most eminent posts, a chancellor, a secretary of state, the governor of a State, talking, without any apparent sense of incongruity, about "my brother the grocer," and so on.'—vol. i. p. 385.—*Note.*

The author of 'New England by one of her Sons' has a passage at p. 336, part of which may, at first sight, be considered as at variance with all these views and assertions of M. de Beaumont.

'We Americans,' he says, 'have our *preferences.* We think it an innocent and a convenient thing to draw arbitrary lines of distinction between different professions. It is a pleasant employment, too, to clamber over these distinctions in life. Perhaps there is not a country in the world where professions are so often changed as in America. We are restless and proud, and, since our civil institutions have established no permanent artificial gradations among us, we have devised them ourselves.'

We were puzzled for a moment when we chanced to open the book at this paragraph; but matters were cleared up somewhat when we discovered that the particular instance of changing a *profession* which had called forth the author's remarks, was neither more nor less than the case of a journeyman mechanic folding up his rule and betaking himself to college with a view to *the clerical line!* And then the writer, proceeding at p. 337 to analyze 'the *aristocratical* leaven among us,' decides that 'various degrees of softness and whiteness of the hands are perhaps as good *criterions* as anything!'* This is perhaps enough.

* 'New England, by one of her Sons,' is rather an interesting little work, though confused in its arrangement.

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To return to M. de Beaumont. As he has mentioned *literature* among the daily interchangeable *lines of business* in America, we may as well quote next a more detailed passage which he bestows upon that particular subject.

'All the world being engaged in business, that calling is esteemed the first in which most money is to be made. The business of an author being the least lucrative is, of course, the lowest. Talk to an American of Homer, or of Tasso, he cuts you down at once by asking if they did not both of them die poor? The sciences, indeed, are more valued; but merely as applicable to the utilitarian concerns of life.

'You will find here neither classical school nor romantic school—there is but one school, the commercial, that of the gentlemen who get up newspapers, and pamphlets, and advertisements, and who sell ideas exactly as their brothers do broadcloth and cotton-goods—whose study is a counting-house—whose intelligence brings so much per cent. Every one who supposes himself a man of superior genius betakes himself to some higher profession—the weaker brothers find refuge in the petty concern of literature.

'Yet, few as are the *authors*, nowhere does so much printing go on. Newspapers are, in fact, the sole literature of the country. People engaged in business and of moderate fortunes demand a species of reading which costs little either of time or of money. It is really rather an affair of stationary than one of literature.

'But, though properly speaking there is no such thing as literature among them, do not suppose that the Americans are without literary vanity. The poor writers themselves have it not, but the country has. Literature, after all, is a branch of business, and America maintains that she excels in that as well as in all the rest.

'"Well," says some one, "give this society time, and by and by you will see great authors and great artists spring from its bosom. Rome did not in her early days produce a Horace or a Virgil—France had been France for fourteen centuries before she gave birth to her Racine and Corneille." Those who make use of this language confound two things which are very distinct—political society and civilization. The political existence of America is in its infancy—her civilization is as old as that of her parent England. The first is in progress, the second in decline. The society of England regenerates itself in the democracy of America—her civilization is dwindling there.' —vol. i., p. 264.

Whether the Americans are really exhibiting at this time an improvement upon the old political organization of their parent country is a question which we do not presume to argue with M. de Beaumont; but we rather apprehend that the 'dwindling civilization,' of which he everywhere perceives the traces in this new world, may perchance be somehow connected with that political system which he everywhere so vehemently extols—and of which he thus describes some of the most importa

'In the United States the masses rule everything and for ever—and they are constantly jealous of any superiority that indicates itself, and prompt to break down any that has succeeded in making itself to be recognized. Middling understandings reject great minds, just as weak eyes abhor the broad light of day.'—vol. i., p. 242.

'Neither in the journals nor in their legislative assemblies is there any attempt at the art of style. Everybody speaks and writes, not without pretension, but without talent; and this is not the fault of the orators and writers themselves. These last, by any display of classical taste or elegant phraseology, would compromise their popularity. The people asks of its mandatories just that quantity of literature which is requisite for the clear exposition of its affairs—anything beyond this is of the pomps and vanities of aristocracy.'—*Ibid.* p. 263.

'Of all nations this is perhaps the one whose government affords the least scope for glory. None has the burden of directing her. It is her nature and her passion to go by herself. The conduct of affairs does not depend upon a certain number of persons; it is the work of all. The efforts are universal, and any individual impulse would only interfere with the general movement. In this country political ability consists not in doing, but in standing off and letting alone. Magnificent is the spectacle of a whole people moving and governing itself—but nowhere do individuals appear so small.

'The United States do great things; their inhabitants are clearing the forests of America and introducing the civilization of Europe into the depths of savage solitude; they extend over half an hemisphere; their ships carry everywhere their name and their riches; but these great results are due to a thousand isolated exertions which no superior power directs, to a thousand middling capacities which never invoke the aid of an intelligence superior to themselves.

'That uniformity which reigns in their political world is equally apparent in their civil society. The relations of man with man have but one object—money; one sole interest—to get rich. The passion for money is born along with the dawnings of intellect, bringing in its train cold calculations and the dryness of cyphers. It grows, it develops itself, it establishes itself in the soul, and torments it without ceasing, as a burning fever agitates and devours the feeble frame of which it has gained possession. Money is the god of the United States, just as Glory is the god of France, and Love of Italy. But at the bottom of this violent passion it is impossible to discover any moral sentiment. Restricted to the relations of mere interest, American society is grave without having the imposing character of virtue. It inspires no respect—it chills all enthusiasm.'—*Ibid.* p. 64.

'I had always thought that, as one withdrew from the great towns and approached the solitude of the forests, civilization would be found insensibly decreasing, thus by little and little drawing one, from a state of things framed after the model of European life and intelligence, to the opposite extreme of barbarous existence. But, in American ety, from New York to the Great Lakes, I sought in vain for any intermediate

intermediate degrees of refinement—everywhere the same men, the same passions, the same manners. The American nation recruits itself from all the nations of the earth; yet no one, take it all in all, presents such an uniformity of character.'—vol. ii. p. 58.

We humbly suggest that if the statement in this last paragraph be at all a correct one, the author has himself connected indissolubly the 'dwindling civilization' of the United States, with that 'political system' in which he calls on us to admire the 'regeneration' of 'English society.' Can he point out any other influence to which we should ascribe this 'uniformity of men, passions, and manners, from New York to the Great Lakes?'

M. de Beaumont speaks of himself as having travelled a good deal in England before he visited the United States. Yet in many of his criticisms on their manners and usages, he appears to be quite unconscious that he is expending his ingenuity on circumstances which he might have found in the old country just as well as in the new. The style of female education for example, which he expatiates upon through several chapters, is fundamentally the English one—and we hope no French criticisms will ever induce the Americans to lay it aside in favour of that which M. de Beaumont so sentimentally lauds. If his picture, however, be not grossly overcharged, our descendants have certainly pushed the ancient English plan to a rather hazardous extent, and all *our* Joe Miller stories about match-making mothers and aunts, and soft-eyed damsels who, nevertheless, keep an eye on the main chance, must fail to convey any adequate notion of the business-like sayings and doings of an American ball-room. He says:—

'The women of America have in general cultivated minds, but little imagination, and more of sense than of sensibility. The edu-

Her instincts would be poor guardians for her; they place her under the protection of her reason: thus enlightened as to the allurements which are to surround her, she goes forth, trusting in herself alone for the means of escape. Her prudence never fails her. But all this deprives her of two qualities charming above everything else in early youth—candour and simplicity. The young American female has need of knowledge to be virtuous—but she is too knowing to be innocent. This precocious liberty gives a serious turn to all her reflections, and stamps her character with something of the masculine.

'An excessive coquetry is, however, a trait common to all the young American girls, and it also is a consequence of their education. For every one who has passed her sixteenth summer, the one great interest of life is a marriage. In France, she desires it—in America, she seeks it. In the midst of that all-busy society, where everybody has some positive material object in hand, she too has her *concern*—her business—her industry: it is to find a husband. The men about her are cold, chained to their worldly affairs—she must go to them—a powerful charm must be called in to attract them. Do not let us be surprised, then, if the young girl who lives in the midst of them is prodigal of her studied smiles and tender glances: her coquetry is, to be sure, a well-considered and prudent thing; she has measured the space within which she may play herself off—she knows the limit which she must not pass. Grant that her artifices are not in themselves to be applauded—you must at least allow that her aim is irreproachable—it is only to be married. Coquetry, with us, is a passion; in America, it is a calculation. Even if the young lady who has formed an engagement continues somewhat of her former procedure, this is matter not of taste but of foresight. Her lover *may* break his faith: she is aware of this, and goes on gaining hearts, from the wish, not to have two at a time, but to have a second in reserve in case the first should fail her.'—vol. i. p. 25.

M. de Beaumont, however, if he may be considered as a little too severe on the pretty damsels of the United States, does as ample justice as any other traveller to the admirable and undoubted purity of their matrons. On this head, indeed, the reports of all the recent witnesses agree most completely—and to us most delightfully, for here again, we are proud to say, we recognise the manners of England in those of her descendants. M. de Beaumont speaks, like a Frenchman as he is, about the old societies of Europe, as if they were all as corrupt on this score, as for aught we know the society of Paris may still be—but we need not enlarge upon a blunder which every English reader will at once trace to the right source. He tells us,—

'You may estimate the morality of any population, when you have ascertained that of the women; and one cannot contemplate American society without admiration for the respect which there encircles the tie of marriage. The same sentiment existed to a like degree among no

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the earth are there so many bankruptcies. The commerce of these States is placed under the most favourable circumstances that can be conceived—an immense and fertile soil, gigantic rivers, numerous and well-placed harbours—a people enterprising, calculating, with a natural genius for maritime life—all these conspire to make this a nation of merchants, and to crown its industry with riches. But for the very reason that success is so probable, men pursue it with an unbridled ardour: the spectacle of rapid fortunes intoxicates the observers, and they rush blindfold to their aim—hence ruin. Shortly after my arrival in America, as I was entering an apartment in which the *élite* of the society of one of the principal cities in the Union were assembled, a Frenchman, an old resident in the country, said to me, "Above all things speak no ill of bankrupts." I did well to follow his advice, for among all the rich personages to whom I was presented, not one but had *failed* at least once in the earlier part of his career.

'All the Americans being engaged in business, and most of them having more or less frequently *failed*, it follows that to be a bankrupt is a nothing. An offence of which so many are guilty ceases to be one. The indulgence for bankrupts springs, then, from the commonness of the misfortune; but its principal cause is the facility with which men there rise from such a fall. If the bankrupt were lost for ever, he would be abandoned to his misery; people are more lenient when they know that he will recover himself. This is not a very generous feeling, but it is in human nature.

'It is now easy to understand why there is no law to punish bankruptcy in these States. Electors and legislators all are alike traders and subject to a failure; they have no wish to punish an universal sin. Such a law, moreover, were it made, would remain inoperative: the *people*, which makes the laws by its mandatories, executes or refuses to execute them in its tribunals, where it is represented by the jury. In this condition of things, nothing protects American commerce against fraud. No trader is compelled to keep any sort of book or register. There is, in short, no legal distinction between the merchant who yields to real misfortune, and him whose bankruptcy has been the fruit of extravagance, dissipation, and fraudulence.'—vol. i., p. 363.

We must not conclude without affording our reader a glimpse or two of the interior of the family with whom the hero of M. de Beaumont's narrative is thrown into such intimate relations. The portraiture of Mr. David Nelson has certainly all the appearance of being a study from the life.

'Morning and evening, Nelson called his children and domestics together for family worship: every meal, in like manner, was preceded by a prayer in which he invoked the blessing of heaven on the meats and fruits before us. When Sunday came, we had a whole day of seclusion and piety: the hours not spent in the meeting-house passed silently in the reading and meditation of the Bible. This rigid observance was the same throughout the town, and yet Nelson was continually

continually lamenting over the irreligion and corruption of Baltimore. "Maryland," said he, "is a very different place from New England, and yet even there, in that old domain of morality and piety, even there the general relaxation of manners and principles is making way! Would you believe it?"—he exclaimed with an accent of bitter grief—"persons travelling on Sundays are no longer meddled with! nay, even the mail carrying the dispatches of the central government continues its journeys during the Lord's day! If this melancholy course be not arrested, it is all over with virtue, whether public or private. No morality without religion—no liberty without Christianity!"

'This ardent zeal for spiritual things was united in Nelson with sentiments of quite another description; his love of money was indisputable: rarely did it happen that his impassioned discourses to us on the affairs of his church, and his own religious experiences, were not followed up by some discussions touching a new bank establishment, the state of securities, the tariff, a canal, or a railroad. His language on such topics, betraying the old merchant in every tone, denoted that passion for wealth, which, when carried to a certain point, takes the name of cupidity. Singular mixture of noble aspirations and impure affections! But I have found this contrast everywhere in the United States: these two opposite principles struggle together perpetually in the society of America—the one the source of rectitude, the other of chicanery! They have, however, one result in common, that of producing *staid men*—("*des hommes rangés*").'—vol. i. p. 60.

The author has a note on this passage in which he once more, as our readers will perceive, confounds Protestantism with a very different thing. On a former occasion he attributed to the 'Protestant system' the odious absurdities of the 'voluntary scheme'—here he seems not to know that there is some distinction between the orthodox Protestant doctrine, as to the observance of the Sabbath, and the sour melancholy rigour of the Puritanism of the seventeenth century, which still, it would appear, lingers in the United States, but which, in spite of Sir Andrew Agnew, never will be revived in Old England.

'It appears pretty certain that a great number of the Americans, shut up in their houses on the Sundays, give themselves very little trouble about their Bible. Some surrender themselves without restraint to the passion of play; the conscious offender choosing, in his privacy, those games which are the most ruinous;—others get drunk with spirituous liquors;—a large proportion of the labouring class take to their beds the moment the sermon is over. The Protestant system, which prescribes for the first day of the week silence, and seclusion, and bars all sorts of amusements out of doors, ha been framed without due reference to the lower orders of so
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the week, to pass the whole of his Sunday in thought. You refuse him public amusements: retired into his obscure dwelling, he abandons himself without restraint to the gross pleasures of sensuality and vice.'—vol. i. p. 357.

When Mr. David Nelson first finds out that his intended son-in-law is a Roman Catholic, he is somewhat shocked; but consoles himself with reflecting that the American Bible Society has been, and is, making great efforts to provide the French people with copies of the Scriptures in their own tongue, and announces his conviction that at no distant date the mass of so enlightened a nation must needs embrace the doctrines of the reformed churches. On this our Frenchman remarks in these cool and highly characteristic terms :—

'France is less irreligious than indifferent. To pass from Catholicism to Protestantism demands an exertion of the understanding, and a craving for something to believe, which are both inconsistent with the temperament of indifference. The Catholic clergy have been assailed as a political body useful to a civil power which made a tool of it; but as a religious body it is not hated. Hatred presupposes convictions, and of these France has few whether in morals or in religion. Generally speaking, in short, people are either Catholics in France or they are nothing; and many are content to call themselves Catholics who would by no means give themselves any trouble to become anything else.'—vol. i. p. 359.—*Note.*

We now submit a week-day scene of Mr. Nelson's exemplary *ménage.*

'Every evening we all met at tea-time, and Nelson read to us, with emphasis, the newspaper articles of the day in which America was the most lavishly extolled. Every evening I heard him repeat that General Jackson was the greatest man of the age, New York the finest city in the world, the Capitol at Washington the most splendid palace in the universe, and the Americans the first people upon earth. By dint of constantly reading these exaggerations, he had arrived at believing in them. Every American has an infinity of flatterers to whom he listens. He is flattered because he is sovereign—he swallows the flatteries because he is people. His annual courtiers are those who, at the recurrence of elections, shower their incense on him to obtain votes and places. His daily courtiers are the newspapers, which, eager for subscribers and money, pamper him every morning with the grossest adulations. An American, however strongly you express your admiration of his country, is never entirely satisfied. In his eyes approbation, if in any degree measured or guarded, is a hostile criticism—an unpardonable insult.'—vol. i. p. 70.

We are afraid that after such a passage as the foregoing one, 'f need hardly expect to maintain much ; public of the nation whose 'political

foreigners who showered their hospitable attentions upon his head. The most guarded of these books are still unjust and irritating. The work published in England soon reaches the New World, and its appearance is a thunder-stroke to the vanity of the American people.'—vol. i., p. 351.—*Note.*

Who the English travellers that have taken liberties with 'American proper names' can be, we really do not know; we certainly have not been so unfortunate as to meet with any of their productions. As to those 'most guarded books' which 'are still unjust and irritating,' we can only express our satisfaction that our good friends on the other side of the Atlantic must now derive abundant consolation for all 'that savage Trollope dashed' from the 'light touches and softening hues' of this amiable Frenchman's *Tableau des Mœurs Americaines.*

M. de Beaumont gives us several amusing anecdotes illustrative of some apparent inconsistencies which have often been satirized by Europeant ravellers in the United States, and remarked upon with good-humoured surprise by those who have met Americans in society here and on the continent of Europe. He dwells particularly on their passion for *titles of nobility.* 'Whether you shall be received with enthusiasm in America, very well, decently well, or coldly, depends on whether you are duke, marquis, count, or nothing.'—vol. ii. p. 287. 'The meanest driver of a diligence styles himself a *gentleman*—and no one who has attained a position the least above the mass of men ever fails to take the title of *esquire.*' Heraldic insignia are much affected. One gentleman displayed his seal, on which he had engraved, above the escutcheon, the date 1631—a proud monument of primeval distinction. They are fond too of blazoning those vanities on the pannels of their carriages, and so forth—though their notions of what such things really are and mean appear to be vague enough. An English diplomatist, not long ago, carried out a London carriage and harness to New York. Some accident, shortly after his arrival, required that he should send his *set-out* to a coachmaker's; and calling by-and-by, what was his astonishment to find the people imitating his shield and crest on half a dozen gigs and dog-carts belonging he knew not to whom! The coachmaker, on his asking some explanation of this, made answer 'that the patterns seemed to be much admired!'

'I love,'—(says the German "Stranger in America,")—'I love to observe with what fondness Americans cherish the memory of their descent, and their intimate connexion with Europe. In many families, cups, plates, chairs are shown you, which their forefathers brought over from your part of the world. Two large yew trees, cut in the stiff and cramped style of the period of Louis XIV., and

ruling masses, placed between two such extremes, are sure to model themselves not by the first, but the second. Every species of government has its own whims and oddities—every sovereign his caprices. To please Louis XIV. one must have been polite to *etiquette*—to please the American people you must be simple even to coarseness. I met with Mr. Henry Clay, the redoubted antagonist of Jackson, when he was canvassing for the President's chair. He had a shabby old hat and a patched coat; he was paying his court to the people.

'I found, I must confess it, a singular charm in these indications of a perfect equality. It is so painful in Europe to be eternally running the risk of classing oneself too high or too low—to bring oneself into collision with the disdain of this class or the envy of that. Here every one is sure to take the place that belongs to him—the social ladder has but one step! I prefer, I am free to confess it, the involuntary rudeness of the plebeian to the forced politeness of the courtiers of kings.'—vol. i., p. 228, &c.—*Note.*

We have no desire to disturb the effect of this very clever writer's representations by any adverse commentaries. We have felt it to be our duty, in consequence of the obloquy heaped by all the American journals on the recent productions of certain English travellers in the United States, to exhibit at some length the evidence of a Frenchman of high talents and character, who is as good a republican as any citizen of New York, and whose prejudices are all against the aristocratical institutions of the old world. Let this gentleman's book be read and studied,—we have little doubt it will soon be translated *in extenso,*—and then let Englishmen judge for themselves, not whether a republic or a mixed monarchy be in itself the finest thing, but whether the social results of the American system be such as *we* ought to envy,—or whether, even admitting that we, as members of an ancient and highly civilized community, ought to do so, it is possible to contemplate with equanimity the long series of strugglings and sufferings which manifestly must be gone through before we could hope to see our whole existence remodelled upon the pattern of what M. de Beaumont emphatically and eulogistically styles '*Le Peuple Homme d'affaires*'—*i. e.*, the Joseph Hume nation.

We shall now give our readers a few more specimens of the German 'Stranger in America,' but we must confine ourselves to short passages, though we certainly wish we had room for his account of the Battle of Waterloo, which is exceedingly lively and picturesque, so far as it goes, and has moreover this remarkable feature of originality, that it includes no allusion whatever to the fact that Wellington and his English had some share in the day's work as well as good old Blücher and his well-girt Prussians. This looks odd, and yet Mr. Lieber seems to be by no means a hater of our nation; on the contrary, even where

of the press, responsibility of ministers, a law standing above the highest ruler, even if a monarch, and a proper independence of the minor communities in the state—that great nation, which alone sends along with its colonies a germ of independent life and principle of self-action, (rendering the gradual unfolding of their own peculiar law possible,) and above all, that nation which first of all elevated itself to the great idea of a lawful opposition. Descending, as the Americans do, from this nation, which seems to have civil liberty in its bones and marrow, and situated as they are in a boundless country, allowing scope to the boldest enterprise without causing discontent and political friction, (which, in countries closely populated, cannot be avoided,)—at a great distance from Europe and all her intricate questions and diplomatic influences, yet blessed with the civilization of that part of the world by means of the all-uniting sea, over which they have thrown their flying bridges, the fleet messengers of the Atlantic, conductors and reconductors of civilization—and, in addition to all these advantages, possessed of their calm and sedate disposition —truly, if they are not made for a government in which the sway of the law alone is acknowledged, then tell me what nation is or was so ?

'It was necessary for the Americans, in order to make them fit to solve certain political problems, which, until their solution here, were considered chimerical—(take as an instance the keeping of this immense country without a garrison)—that they should descend from the English; should begin as persecuted colonists, severed from the mother country, and yet loving it with all their heart and all their soul; to have a continent, vast and fertile, and possessing those means of internal communication which gave to Europe the great superiority over Asia and Africa; to be at such a distance from Europe that she should appear as a map; to be mostly Protestants; and to settle in colonies with different charters—so that, when royal authority was put down, they were as so many independent States—and yet to be all of one metal, so that they never ceased morally to form one nation, nor to feel as such.'—*Stranger, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 43.

There is nothing very new, perhaps, in the following paragraph with which Mr. Lieber winds up a letter about the steam-boat, and Mr. Fulton, to whom, writing in and for America, he of course ascribes that invention—but we are pleased with the sentiment and the expression :—

'He who invented the saw, in imitation, probably, of the jaw of some large fish, was, to say the least, no fool; the inventors of the wheel and screw conferred as great benefits upon mankind as did Fulton; but history mentions not their names, as she passes over all these early and great benefactors in silence. We know the bold woman who taught us to protect our children against the small-pox, and Roscoe [*quære*, Coleridge ?] celebrates the mother who dared to return to nature. But who invented the distaff? When was the complicated process of making bread completely discovered? Is it certain that Ctesebes contrived

[illegible] must have been who first [illegible] to the hoof of a living [illegible] the sail, the rudder, when we [illegible] what ingenuity was requisite to [illegible] when the calf had given up to [illegible] The inhabitants of South America do [illegible] leave the calf with the cow [illegible] It is very frequent to see, in [illegible] because the calves, [illegible] or with very small [illegible] in which cows have [illegible] Stranger, &c. vol. ii. p. 64.

[illegible] from Boston, which may [illegible] respectable landlord of the [illegible] Nice. —

[illegible] is an instance of the Ame- [illegible] in a street in Boston, a [illegible] recommends to philosophers, [illegible] "To-morrow Soup" [illegible] which thus was doomed to [illegible] paradise of its own flesh. When [illegible] and protected by nature [illegible] the inexorable cook, as it car- [illegible] the moment, when, pro- [illegible] after its long and un- [illegible] when I thought to observe with [illegible] attracted like mine, a slight [illegible] indicating that the laconic [illegible] made in vain—I do not know why, [illegible] the Great and *Catherine-le-*

[illegible] Palais de Bigot calls her, bent, with a look betraying but

ART. II.—*Reise um die Erde, ausgeführt auf dem koniglich Preussischen Seehandlungs-Schiffe Prinzess Louise, commandirt von Capitain W. Wendt, in den Jahren* 1830, 1831, *und* 1832. Von Dr. F. J. F. Meyen. 2 vols. 4to. Berlin. 1834.

WE quite agree with Boswell, that 'one is carried away with the general, grand, and indistinct notion of a voyage round the world.' Let Johnson talk as he will, there is a misty vastness about such enterprises, a sense of the marvellous and dangerous inextricably mixed up with them, that delights and expands the mind, even though, particularly since the recent multiplication of circumnavigators, we may not be well able to justify our impressions to ourselves by any rational hope of fresh and really valuable discovery. But a voyage round the world by a German differs materially from a voyage round the world by an Englishman: they see with different eyes, and refer to different standards of comparison, so that the same objects which have begun to grow wearisome in the descriptions of our own countrymen, may strike again with all the interest of novelty when placed in the point of view taken by a foreigner. The truth of this observation will appear from the passages we are about to quote from the book before us; which is the work of a scientific gentleman, of competent intelligence, commissioned to accompany a Prussian expedition in the double capacity of surgeon and naturalist.

'Twice already' (says he in his Preface) 'had the royal Prussian flag circumnavigated the globe, before I had the happiness to be attached to a trading expedition, undertaken, chiefly with a view to South America and China, by orders of the Royal Merchant-Marine. The splendid ship which was destined for this adventure has the honour to bear the august name of *Princess Louisa*, having been christened after her Royal Highness the youngest daughter of his Majesty our King, by marriage the Princess Frederick of the Netherlands. Once already had this ship successfully circumnavigated the earth, and wherever we touched she was received as a familiar guest.'

The politeness with which this gentleman speaks of the ship which had the honour to bear the august name of a Prussian princess, &c., bears no very distant analogy to that of the Frenchman (mentioned by Miss Edgeworth) who talks of 'the earthquake that had the honour to be noticed by the Royal Society;' but it is only on very rare occasions that Dr. Meyen indulges in this style.

'Although' (he continues) 'the object of our expedition was quite different from that of voyages of scientific discovery, still, through the gracious favour of his Majesty the King, many opportunities have been afforded me of visiting places which had remained more or less unknown to the scientific public; I therefore consider it a duty to communicate

many, however, there prevails a prejudice, that pure spring water keeps good, on sea voyages, a much shorter time than river water; the captains constantly adduce their own experience in proof of this doctrine, and the practice continues as of old. Still we would fain contradict this apparent experience of mariners, and recommend pure spring water as preferable: the truth is, that only for convenience' sake, have mariners adopted the rule of taking the water which lies nearest at hand: in other words, they are reluctant to sacrifice a single hour to such objects, although a great and salutary enjoyment might be thereby preserved for the whole crew, during the melancholy time they are to pass in open sea. At some places, particularly in tropical countries, we were compelled during our voyage to take in spring water, and it was precisely this which kept best and longest. But it is hard to cure seamen of their prejudices; nowhere do ingrained habits hold out longer than amongst them. On the many plans which have been recommended to them for preserving and purifying the water, in case of necessity, they bestow no attention whatever; nay, these remain absolutely unknown to the greater part of the very class for whose benefit they have been suggested. The keeping of water in iron casks has long been practised in the English navy, and is proved to be highly advantageous; to all appearance, however, there is not, at the present moment, a single ship in the whole German marine that makes use of iron water-casks.'

At length we find ourselves at sea, but on a voyage most inauspiciously begun; it was nine days before the *Princess Louisa* came off Dover, which with a fair wind might easily have been reached in two; and they afterwards met with considerably delay and danger in beating down the Channel. Their first point of destination on leaving it was the Canary Isles, where their attention was particularly attracted to the extraordinary phenomena presented by the shooting-stars of the south; which, according to Humboldt, often drag after them a tail of twelve or fifteen seconds in length. Dr. Meyen says, that as he was once riding at the foot of the Cordilleras, a common shooting-star fell so deep, that it remained for some time visible between him and the shade of the mountains.

Soon after leaving the Canaries they began to fall in with large masses of the weeds which so much surprised and confounded Columbus and his crew. Our author says that he has examined many thousands of them, and is convinced that Alexander von Humboldt errs in supposing them to be plants originally growing at the bottom of the sea, and detached by fish or the motion of the waves. 'They have evidently unfolded their young buds swimming, and thrown out roots and leaves, but both of the same quality, in all directions.'

Amongst a host of other strange animals, they here also began to

[illegible] species of *Phyllodus*, the pungent in- [illegible] was alluded to in our late article on Ben- [illegible] The German has an anecdote on this [illegible] than any of our countrymen's:—

[illegible] singular animal can become to men may be [illegible] which our friend Captain W[illegible] related to us. [illegible] the *Princess Louise* round the world [illegible] the equator a particularly large and [illegible] a young sailor, of distinguished [illegible] taken into the sea to catch [illegible] and seized it, when instantly the [illegible] swimmer with its three-feet- [illegible] frightened, probably also [illegible] over its whole body, cried [illegible] side of the ship, to be [illegible] from him, and his skin rubbed [illegible] inflammation became so violent, that [illegible] and wounds were enter- [illegible] for more, did not [illegible] afterwards fell [illegible] dead.

[illegible] the ship, flying-fish skimmed [illegible] swimming [illegible] show is the way, [illegible] from the sharks. Pro- [illegible] belonged, had been recently caught; [illegible] therefore, [illegible] as guide to [illegible] this animal which I shall take [illegible] We turn [illegible] the passage [illegible] the latter that we believe natu- [illegible] to the peculiar habits of this fish, and

moment he was fast upon the hook. Once we watched a pilot for many days who kept constantly swimming close before the keel of the ship. The sailors say, as of a thing well known and familiar, that such a fish so situated has lost his shark, and is seeking another. Upon a later occasion, we observed two pilots in sedulous attendance on a blue shark, which we caught in the Chinese Sea. It seems probable that the pilot feeds on the shark's excrement, keeps his company for that purpose, and directs his operations solely from this selfish view.'

From what is here said, it seems that the pilot-fish leads the shark much as Lord John Russell leads the present Opposition—upon similar principles, with similar expectations, and, we hope and trust, with a similar result.

Neither must we omit to mention the sailing-fish, of which Dr. Meyen records a peculiarity which has escaped Mr. Bennett, and which we do not remember to have seen recorded elsewhere. He says that this fish can protrude its mouth in the form of a cylinder, draw it back again, and change it into an elongated shape. On approaching the Brazils, they discover the Abrolhos-bank by the thermometer, although, half an hour after the first change in the temperature of the water was remarked, a line of 390 feet was thrown, and no bottom found. They anchor in the bay of Rio Janeiro, and watch impatiently for an opportunity of landing.

"During the night a little breeze sprung up, by aid of which the ship was brought farther into the bay, within full view of the town. We thought the night would never end—we could hardly make up our minds to wait for morning to revel in the aspect of this favoured spot. The day appeared at last, but the whole coast was covered with the thickest mists: only the summits of the highest mountains emerged, and, with their dark green, were illumined by the rising sun; by degrees the veil of mist began to rise more and more, and one landscape after another came to view. This great bay is surrounded on every side with mountains, which are covered with the most beautiful vegetation; in the middle, little hilly islands rise out of the dark-green water, on whose heights stand proud palm trees; and more than a league in breadth stretches the fair city of Rio, on the south bank of the bay. The innumerable churches of the town with their towers; the magnificent convents, which are built upon the points of the nearest mountains, and with their white colours stand out to such advantage from the dark green of tropical vegetation; the lofty mountains which glance out in the back-ground of the town and are still covered with their primæval woods, and the mountains on the west of the bay, which are known under the name of the Organ and Star mountains, and lift themselves terrace-like in their range—all these things combined make this scene under a tropical sky one of the most beautiful in the world.'

In

In Rio itself the slave-trade presents one of the most striking and startling sights to the traveller:—

"The bazaar of the slave-dealers was the first place we visited in company, in order to witness with our own eyes this traffic so disgraceful to humanity. We found many hundreds of these unfortunate creatures in their shops: they were quite naked down to the middle, which was girt with a small piece of cloth: the hair of the head was for the most part shaved off: and as they sat in rows upon small benches, or cowered down upon the earth, their whole aspect and bearing could not fail to make one shudder. Those who were thus exposed were for the most part children: almost all were marked with the hot iron, and generally on the noblest parts. Nay, maidens were there who had been seared with the cruel brand upon the breast! In consequence of the dirt in which they are obliged to live on board the slave-ships, but more particularly in consequence of the bad nourishment, consisting of salt meat, bacon, and bean-flour, the poor creatures acquire a most lamentable appearance. Their skin is marked by scorbutic disease, which first appearing in the shape of a small breaking-out, spreads more and more, and forms small ulcers, which soon eat into the surrounding flesh. Through hunger and misery the dark colour of their skin has lost its fulness and gloss; the white spot-like eruptions, the ulcers, the shaven head, with the dull gaping look, really convert them into beings whom, after the first impression, we would not willingly suppose to have been born of the same race with ourselves. When sold, the negroes are examined just as we examine animals. To prevent them from having a lazy downcast look, it is customary to give them stimulating things to eat, as capsicum, ginger, even tobacco: or they are compelled to be lively on the instant by boxes on the ears, kicks in the ribs, and ill-treatment of every kind. The owner of one of these slave-shops advances to meet a stranger with extraordinary friendliness, offers him his hand,

in the neighbouring quarries; others, and not a few, send them forth in quest of insects, and this is the reason why the finest insects are so cheap at Rio de Janeiro. A man who has acquired a certain degree of skill may catch from five to six hundred beetles in the course of a day close to the town. The trade in insects is properly regarded as very profitable, as while we were there they fetched six *milreis* [about 13*s.* English] the hundred. The finer sort of beetles are now a general object of search; indeed, ladies in Europe are beginning to ornament their dresses with them to a degree which threatens the entire extirpation of the race. The so-called diamond-beetle was much in request for breast-pins for gentlemen, and fetched as much as six piastres. [about 30*s.*].

'The thirst for gain has struck out other ways, to arrive more rapidly at the end. Humanity will scarcely believe me when I say that negresses are sometimes kept, like brood-mares, for breeding. Young negresses are bought for the express purpose of bearing children; a negress when pregnant is worth fifty piastres [10*l.*] more than before. The children are torn from the bosom of the mother, and sold for between thirty and forty piastres [6*l.* and 8*l.*]. The master of the slaves does precisely as he likes; he makes and dissolves these occasional marriages at will; he tears children from their parents, and sells husband and wife so that they may possibly never meet again. Even the milk of the negresses is used as an article of merchandise, and sold for the milk of cows; for this reason milk is never seen at the houses of strangers in Rio, unless they themselves possess cows.'

This is a frightful description; but we must not dwell upon it at present. The great subject to which it refers shall, on an early occasion, engage our deliberate attention.

Dr. Meyen speaks in the highest terms of the beauty of the Brazilian ladies. But their minds can hardly correspond with their persons, as they are not taught reading and writing for fear of their engaging in love-adventures, for which, it is said, they have great natural aptitude. The consequence is, that they ordinarily pass their whole mornings in rubbing their teeth with orange peel, or having their hair dressed by their negresses.

On leaving Rio, our travellers made directly for Cape Horn, which they weathered with difficulty. Amongst the many birds and fishes whose peculiarities struck them on this part of the voyage, the dolphins and albatrosses appear to have attracted particular notice:—

'One afternoon, we struck a dolphin with the harpoon; he bled a great deal, but escaped; soon afterwards we saw at the side of the ship, at a little distance, a whole drove of these fishes, who fell in a body on the wounded one. What may have been the cause of this struggle? Were they contending for the blood of their comrade? We subsequently,

subsequently, on the Cordilleras, made a similar observation with regard to birds.'

There was no necessity for travelling to the Cordilleras in order to witness this ungenerous behaviour in birds; for the rooks and crows of our own country, and we suppose of the doctor's fatherland also, make a point of attacking their wounded comrades in the same manner. The albatross, also, is brought under strong suspicion by an incident related by Dr. Meyen. On opening the stomach of one, caught near Magellan's Strait, he found in it the neck and half-severed skull of another albatross; the bird had evidently bolted the neck with the piece of head hanging to it. Mr. Bennett, our readers may remember, has a similar story. If such be the general habits of the albatross, it may be doubted whether 'the Ancient Mariner' was not too severely punished for the rash use of his cross-bow.

The first place at which they touch after weathering Cape Horn is Valparaiso in Chili; a town containing about 20,000 inhabitants. The following observations on certain natural phenomena of this region, and some customs of the inhabitants, appear worthy of quotation:—

'Here one is never weary of wondering how the most turbulent sea is lulled in so short a time. Equally surprising is it that, towards mid-day, the water of the bay suddenly begins to roar, whilst close at hand it still exhibits the most glassy smoothness, and no trace of wind is yet observable on shore. When the sea-wind has abated in the evening, all sinks into a profound lull, and a cooling breeze, which seems to rise in the snow regions of the Andes, refreshes exhausted nature. Nothing then equals the beauty of a summer night at Valparaiso; its repose only broken by the uniform and monotonous beating of the waves against the shore, and by the foaming of the

masses, that there is a downright rain for twenty or thirty minutes. The water of the bay is at the same time quite tranquil, and the surface of a chrystalline brightness, such as we in our northern seas are perhaps never fortunate enough to behold. Then the little fishing-boats move slowly round; out of which it is customary to fish with hooks. With the descent of the mist all the cloudiness of the atmosphere disappears, and now the sun begins to grow warm, till again towards noon the cooler air of the sea sets in, and the daily course of natural phenomena recommences. This was the case at Valparaiso when we were there, namely, in January and in March; the winter is probably different, namely, in June, July and August; but the necessary observations as to this season are still wanting.'

A description of the effects of some of the principal earthquakes is subjoined. The English public, however, have been sufficiently familiarised with these by the striking sketches of Mrs. Calcott and Sir Francis Head; we shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a single paragraph upon this subject:—

'At present, as during our stay in the province of Santiago, certain minor earthquakes are regularly repeated every two or three weeks. A general alarm then seizes the inhabitants, and all desert their houses with loud cries of "*Misericordia! Misericordia! il tiembla.*" Some months afterwards we found ourselves in the northern part of Chili, in the Partido de Copiapó, in a country where earthquakes rank amongst the most ordinary phenomena. Here the inhabitants were familiar with this dreadful curse; they sometimes remained the whole night within doors, whilst the houses were rocking and the trees waving to and fro. To such a degree can man accustom himself to the greatest danger!'

Whilst Chili preserved her connection with Spain, Valparaiso was considered as the first commercial place on the whole west coast of America, but 'in consequence of the revolution' (says Dr. Meyen) 'the country has grown poor, all the great and opulent houses have disappeared, and it will, in all likelihood, be long before this beautiful and richly-gifted land recovers its prosperity again.'

Whilst the ship was lying off Valparaiso, they made a party to visit Santiago, a city of Chili, containing about sixty thousand inhabitants. Although a great many writers have preceded Dr. Meyen in describing it, we shall presently quote a few of his remarks. But we are first tempted to copy a family picture sketched by him upon the way:—

'At the foot of the mountain (Cuesto del Prado) lies the post-house of Prado, at which we alighted. We there found a very numerous family, who received us with as much kindness as if we had been old acquaintances. The pretty women were in fine clothes

 of

of the modern fashion, and had large silk kerchiefs for head-dress: they were smoking their cigars and drinking maté, the tea of Paraguay. One of them was lying on a bed in the attitude of the penitent Magdalen, but she seemed to us more intrancingly beautiful than Magdalen was ever painted. Four broad beds stood in the single room, and all were occupied by men and women, who were reposing themselves, although they had certainly done nothing the whole forenoon. With the exception of a single bench there was no seat in the room, and the penitent Magdalen invited us to rest upon her bed. Smoking was the ordinary entertainment, very pleasantly interrupted by witty and satirical sallies of the women. To amuse herself at our expense, our beautiful companion brought out her little pet which had been lying under the coverlid; it was a cuy (*lepus minimus Molinæ*), a charming animal. We immediately tried to purchase it, but it was not to be had for money. On several other occasions we endeavoured to make a bargain for little domestic animals of the sort, but the women would never part with them, although in many instances the money would have been extremely convenient.

'Here, as often during our sojourn in South America, it chanced to us to mix for a considerable time with a family circle, without finding out the men and women who were married to each other. Mistakes, such as naturally fell out in consequence, always added to the amusement of the company.'

As they are proceeding across the arid plain of Mapocho, a strange mode of refreshing a tired horse presents itself:—

'Not a breath of air was stirring, and no living thing was to be seen; nature was sunk into a complete calm, even vegetation was dead and the fruitful plain resembled a burnt-up loamy bottom; only [illegible] images, produced by unequal refraction, animated the glowing level. The very horses flagged and would no longer proceed at full gallop, (the ordinary pace at Chili,) whereupon one of the natives [illegible] up, and with his great knife made several cuts in the parched

reception which assuredly they have invariably experienced, when they did not exhibit too much arrogance. The women have been made the peculiar object of attack, and often even individually named, whereby succeeding travellers have suffered great disadvantages, for already has the fashion disappeared of admitting every stranger of condition into the circle of the best families without the formality of a direct introduction. The ladies dread the stiff Englishman, who cannot enter into the spirit of their manners, and makes them a subject of merriment so soon as he is out of the room. He considers himself distinguished, when he receives a bunch of flowers from a lady, though, in fact, this sort of courtesy is designed merely as a help to conversation. The Englishman calls the people dirty, because a bason of water goes round after dinner, and the whole company, men and women, dip their hands in it by turns, although these good people intend nothing further than to indicate the footing of confidence on which they wish to live with their guests.'

The old custom, not yet quite obsolete in England, of handing round a bowl or vase of rose-water, might have warned our countrymen against so rash a conclusion as the last. In reality, after reading Dr. Meyen's sketch of the existing state of manners in Santiago, we are led to doubt whether the inhabitants of this remote region have not much reason to complain of the partial and discoloured representations of them hitherto afforded to the European public.

'They rise early, and the ladies immediately hurry off to mass, arrayed in black silk with long black veils. They are attended by female servants, bearing fine cushions for their mistresses to kneel upon. After mass they take chocolate, coffee, or China tea; maté, or Paraguay tea, being now entirely banished from the houses of the higher class. The men, who appear to trouble themselves very little about mass, usually employ the time devoted by the women to religious observances in strolling through the streets and market-places. During the forenoon, the ladies pay visits in their carriages; little two-wheeled coaches with glass windows, drawn by two mules, the coachman being seated upon one. Men and women never ride together in these carriages, which, indeed, are intended for women exclusively. As the heat increases with the advancing day, all life and action disappear from the streets, and by the afternoon all business is quite over. Two o'clock is the ordinary hour of dinner, which is soon ready, for the mode of living is singularly moderate; soon after dinner comes the siesta, which commonly lasts till six. During this time, a stillness, like that of death, reigns through the uniform streets of the city, which are heated to an extraordinary temperature by the unintermitting rays of the sun. All the shops are closed, and there is no one to speak to; none but curious strangers, and soldiers upon guard, are to be seen in the squares. Nothing less than an earthquake would be powerful enough to rouse the inhabitants of this town

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from the lethargy into which they fall, not so much perhaps from the intolerable heat as from habit. During our stay such an earthquake took place about three o'clock in the afternoon. *Misericordia! Un temblor! Un temblor!* resounded on all sides, and the inhabitants hurried out of their houses, often in the most laughable attire, for they had been surprised in the midst of their sleep. As the heat abates, the houses re-open, the shopkeepers expose their goods, and the squares are again filled with workmen. The bustle re-commences, the people stream towards the churches, and the promenades are filled; but on a sudden, as the sun sets, the bell calls to prayer, and heads are bared and all is still. Thousands and thousands of people, on horseback and in carriages, all huddled up together, as they chance to be confounded in the crowd, are instantly prostrated by the sound of this bell, as by catalepsy, and turn their thoughts to their common Creator. With alternating pauses an harmonious ringing of bells sounds from the different towers, admirably arranged with a view to effect, until the striking of the clock sets the mass again in motion. Then the noise redoubles, as if to overtake what has been lost in the preceding moments. *Buenas noches! buenas noches!* is the salutation then exchanged amongst acquaintance.'

Their mode of visiting, with the exception of the extreme lateness of the hour, appears excellently adapted to attain the chief objects of society.

'In the evening, from nine to ten o'clock, family visits are paid, and these last till long after midnight. Particular invitations are not the fashion here; any one once presented to the family by a friend of the house has the right of entry ever after; he may come as often as he chooses, and go away again if he does not find amusement in the circle which he happens to meet, without its being taken ill. When the rooms are lighted, and the doors open, it is a sign that the family are at home and receive visits. The gentleman of the house, however,

them into little bouquets, which they present to the gentlemen; but this, as I have already said, is meant merely as an invitation to converse. Most commonly the ladies sit still and exhibit their skill in the management of the fan, which they learn to use with an adroitness and grace such as no one assuredly could match in our country. From their earliest youth the management of the fan is the daily study of the young women of Santiago.'

We are very far from undervaluing the importance of an art which formerly engaged the thoughts of no less a person than Addison;* but we doubt the expediency of making it the study of a life, and we fear from what follows that in other respects the education of the Chilian ladies has been much neglected.

'The Chilian ladies, equally with the Peruvian, are liable to some degree of censure for surrendering themselves too unreservedly to their natural passion for dress. This makes them forget their other duties, and I have conversed with many a worthy father of a family who has broken out into the bitterest complaints about it. A Chilian woman, even of the middle class, wears nothing but silk stockings, with silk shoes so very thin that they cannot last beyond a few days; her church-going dress consists of velvet, silk, and lace; she wears the largest and costliest French tortoise-shell combs in her hair, often two or even three of them at a time, merely for the sake of show. She walks about at home in the finest China silk kerchiefs, and lies with them upon the carpets. It is not merely that domestic happiness is so frequently disturbed, *and many a matrimonial union prevented because the necessary means are wanting to the men;* we may even regard this folly as a cause powerful enough to bring about the ruin of the state, unless effective means can be found of counteracting its extravagance. Good, that is, practical girl-schools, of the European kind, should be established; not such as the celebrated institution of Mora at Santiago, which, in my opinion, promotes the very thing which should be as much as possible repressed.

'It is well worth remarking, that it is only since the casting-off of the Spanish yoke that this luxury in dress has taken such exclusive possession of the women; but no one in this country dares to speak against it openly, although it is tacitly disapproved by all, for possibly in no country are the men so completely under the dominion of the *women* (I do not exactly say under the dominion of their *wives*) as in Chili; this, however, is a natural consequence of their beauty and charming manners.'

What is here said of the Chilian ladies is not altogether inapplicable to certain classes at least of our own countrywomen; who have learnt, indeed, to put some slight restraint on their passion for dress, but have so habituated themselves to the indulgence of sundry even more expensive tastes, as to make marriage, in too

* See 'The Spectator,' No. CII.

many

many instances, much less a matter of mutual inclination than of expediency. In fact, there is in these days nothing very uncommon in hearing a young lady openly avow that a carriage and opera-box are in her opinion downright necessaries of life; and every season brings about marriages, solely determined by such base considerations, the probable results of which need not be particularly dwelt upon. In other particulars, too, the parallel holds good. We fear there can be little doubt that the most celebrated of those '*establishments for young ladies,*' which grace this huge Babylon of ours, and its suburbs, are schools more likely to pamper than repress a taste for the prevailing vanities.

Dr. Meyen and some of his comrades make an excursion to the volcano of Maipu. The most singular phenomenon presented by this volcano is the extraordinary illumination which proceeds from it during the night. This was witnessed by our travellers, but they confess themselves unable to say why Maipu should differ in this respect from all other known volcanoes in the world.

The next place they visit after leaving Santiago is Capiapó, a town most bountifully endowed by nature with all that can make it delightful as a residence, with only one slight drawback upon its advantages. Earthquakes are of such constant occurrence, that it is customary to build the houses of the lightest and least durable materials and construction, as it is never certain that the *usufruct* will last above a month.

They next repair to Arica in Peru, where one of the first objects that strike them is a wonderful draught of fishes.

'Measureless shoals of little fishes had come into the bay, and were received amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. Old and yo ung, men andwomen, all were standing half naked in the water,

the only mine at work at Puno (which ranks next to Potosi in metallic richness of soil) is farmed by an Englishman.

The most memorable of their expeditions in Peru was one to the mountains; a service of considerable danger, on account of a complaint which almost invariably attacks the traveller during the ascent. The symptoms are described as follows:—

'We were tormented with a burning thirst which no drink was able to assuage; a slice of water-melon which we had brought with us was the only thing we could relish, whilst our people ate garlick and drank spirits, maintaining that this was the best way to guard against the effects of the journey. We kept on ascending till two o'clock in the afternoon. We were already near the little ridge which extends W.S.W. from the summit of the mountain (the volcano of Arequipa), and we could even distinguish the little stones upon the summit, when our strength at once abandoned us, and we were overtaken by the disease, *sorocco.* The nervous feverishness under which we had suffered from the first had been gradually becoming worse and worse; our breathing became more and more oppressed; fainting, sickness, giddiness, and bleeding at the nose came on; and in this condition we lay a considerable time, until the symptoms grew milder from repose, and we were able to descend slowly.'

This complaint, we believe, is common to all mountainous regions, being the result partly of the exertion used in ascending, and partly of the rarefied state of the air; but it is nowhere so fatal as in Peru. 'It is a well-known fact (says Garcilasso de la Vega) that the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, on his march towards Chili, when, as is probable, he was led by his guides over the highest plain of Tacora, lost more than 10,000 Indians, 150 Spaniards, and a number of horses, who all fell a sacrifice to hunger, thirst, and this disease. The soldiers on that memorable expedition built themselves walls of the dead bodies of their comrades, merely to protect themselves against the drying effect of the wind.'

Dr. Meyen's description of the first view of the mountains is in his best manner.

'The grand Pampa, which separates what may be termed the suburb mountains (*vorberge*) of the Cordilleras from the principal range, and runs along the coast, is an equally elevated sand-waste, showing no sign of rocks nor of any description of living animal throughout. On the western boundary of the waste, close by Tambo, there is some of that trachyte which is found at Arequipa, but farther on you have nothing but sand. Uniform as this waste might appear, we visited few regions on the whole journey which were of higher interest for us. When we had reached the table-land, which may be about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the whole chain of the Cordilleras lay to the east of us, with the highest points veiled in light clouds.

clouds. As the morning advanced, the summits were successively lighted by the rising sun, and their eternal snows reflected a rosy light towards us, whilst we ourselves rode forward in the deepest gloom. As the sun rose higher in the sky, the western ridge of the great Pampa, on which we were riding, was illumined by it; clouds of misty vapour appeared, resembling a sea, for which we actually mistook them, and out of these rose lofty ranges of mountains with precipitous ascents. The appearance was so peculiar, that we were led to believe that we saw, at the same time, the sea brought nearer to us, and on it a reflection of the Cordilleras-chain, which lay eastwards of us. But in proportion as the sun rose above the horizon of the Cordilleras, those streaks of vapour rose with it; the bases of the heights came forth, their summits vanished, and at length appeared unbroken chains of mountains stretching all along the coast, and bounding the great Pampa on the west.

That still more remarkable, and indeed quite peculiar in its way, is the surface of this sand-waste. Everywhere here the sand is collected in great regular sickle-shaped heaps, standing at different distances from each other, and uniformly ranged with their concave sides to the north-west. The circumference of these heaps varies from twenty to seventy paces, and their height from seven to fifteen feet. On their external convex side their decline is very small; on the inner concave, on the contrary, it is from seventy to eighty degrees. The surface on the external side is shaped like waves. Thousands and thousands of these hillocks cover the plain as far as the eye can reach, and, what is most singular, no little heap, where a hillock of the kind may be beginning to accumulate, is to be seen; all have a north-westerly direction; only in the middle of the Pampa there is a space of from 100 to 200 paces long, where these circles gradually turn, and at last open entirely towards the west, but beyond this point they resume their old direction. There is no doubt that a constantly [illegible] blowing continually in one and the same direction

vations on one of those sudden changes to which the South American seas are frequently exposed. We believe this subject was first brought under consideration by Captain Hall.

'It is known that on the coast of North Chili, as well as along the whole coast of Peru, an undulating movement of the sea frequently takes place, without any one being able to discover the cause; we ourselves have been lying during the night, and in the most complete calm, in the harbour of Capiapó, when the ship rocked so violently that we all found the motion intolerable. At other places, even south of Arica, we have, when the wind was perfectly still, seen waves thirty or forty feet high. It is known that on the west coast of South America the ebb and flood are very trifling, and at a short distance from the land quite invisible, so that even at the full of the moon this phenomenon of the rolling of the sea, as it is called in those countries, cannot be ascribed to the tide. It has been attributed to the influence of the moon, and it is maintained that it only occurs at the full of the moon. But, in opposition to this theory, we can assert that this rolling, and in truth with the greatest violence, as for example in the harbour of Capiapó, took place during the last quarter, from which it may be concluded that the full moon is not the cause of it: on the whole, we are of opinion that the great flow of cold water, which sets in from the south-west, and touches the Peruvian coast in the breadth of Arequipa, must be regarded as the cause of this rolling of the sea.'

We have not room for any extracts from Dr. Meyen's very curious and instructive chapter on Lima and its environs. On quitting the Peruvian coast, our voyagers repair to the Sandwich Isles, where all seems altered for the worst.

'We had hardly dropped anchor before Honoruru (the capital of these islands), when several merchants came on board and greeted us as old acquaintance, since our ship had visited this beautiful island once before. Soon afterwards we received a visit from Kuakini, the present governor of the island Oahu, who has thought fit to assume the name of John Adams. The giant size and unshapely figure of this man astonished us exceedingly at first; his body is so large and so unmanageable, that he cannot remain standing for a moment at a time, but is obliged to sit down, or at least lean against something. He was not able to climb up the side of the ship, but was obliged to be drawn up by means of a rope wound round his waist. When at last he had set foot on deck, he looked round with the greatest indifference and spoke next to nothing; the huge and marked face, with its dark red coarse skin and thick protruding lips, its frightfully broad nose and great bloodshot eyes, gave the man a hideous aspect.

'We had been lying more than an hour at anchor; the merchants had left us, and the governor had returned on shore, but no tidings of either the canoes or the swimming nymphs that in former days revelled so joyfully around foreign ships. A solitary boat, manned by two

Kanike-aouli had formerly expressed a desire to see, delighted him. The drawings of the different kinds of troops composing the Prussian army next went the round of the assembly, among the loudest acclamations. Amongst the presents destined for Kanike-aouli's consort, was a very fine bonnet adorned with artificial flowers. This particularly excited the curiosity of the young Queen Kinau, who, notwithstanding her gigantic bulk, is possessed of her own share of charms. Kinau caused the hat to be placed upon her head, and was generally admired in it. The ornaments also pleased this lady extremely, and she wished them to be put on, which threw us into the greatest embarrassment, since the bracelets and the necklace, although made of an unusual size, did not fit. It was only with the greatest trouble that we succeeded in fastening the latter, as we were obliged to brace the lady's neck tight; and yet, in comparison with the others, she is by no means coarsely, but finely and elegantly formed.

'Kanike-aouli was entreated to put on the uniform, which he immediately did, with the assistance of his secretary Halilei, in the adjoining room; but on hearing a cry, "*The missionaries are coming!*" he as quickly took it off again. When he returned to the saloon, and saw Kinau with the ornaments, he immediately desired her to take them off, as they were not intended for her, nor was she to have any part of them. She obeyed upon the instant, and did as he desired without so much as a cross look. The fine linen, the silk stuffs, the articles for the toilet and other purposes, excited the envy of the ladies present, for Kanike-aouli kept all for himself. Kaa-humana, the queen-mother, sat still and downcast; she could hardly conceal her disgust and pretended to be ill; two servants stood beside her, and were obliged to be constantly blowing fresh air towards her. A stick, with a mouth-harmonica, which we had presented to John Adams, the governor, struck the old lady's fancy to such a degree that she took possession of it, and forthwith, in the middle of the whole assembly, made an essay of her musical talents upon it.

'It was a very hot day, and as we had been nearly four hours uninterruptedly engaged in the ceremony, we were suffering much from thirst. Some foreign merchants who were present gave the young king a hint that he should offer us something to drink; but he answered that the missionaries had forbidden him.'

Certain violations of truth are punished with singular severity amongst the islanders. A false report had spread that Boki, the former governor of Oahu, who was absent on a voyage, had suddenly returned. It was traced to a poor Indian, who had no apparent interest in spreading it, and, according to Dr. Meyen, was evidently insane. He was, notwithstanding, doomed to suffer as if he had been wilfully guilty of the most heinous of crimes.

'One morning the punishment for this pretended lie was executed on this poor wretch in the streets of Honoruru; with his arms and breast

breast tied to the hinder part of a cart, he was compelled to follow it. On the cart sat an officer with a cane in his hand, and everywhere, when the cart halted, which was likewise drawn by Indians, the offence of the victim was re-proclaimed by the officer. The feet of the criminal were then tied to the wheels of the cart, and each time a new storm of blows was showered upon him; we averted our eyes from this scene of misery, after once looking at the man, whose back was quite covered with blood, and whom they were even then assailing anew; an old fellow, with white hair and a long, snow-white beard, an Englishman by birth, acted as executioner. Thousands of Indians, young and old, men and women, followed this scene of suffering, and loudly expressed their gratification when the wretch shrieked most terrifically. On either flank of the procession walked a number of the naked soldiers of the governor, who commonly had their wives with them, carrying their muskets in one hand, and supporting a naked child with the other. With so well disposed a people, standing upon the lowest step of cultivation, the extremes uniformly lie close to one another: formerly they permitted themselves to be sacrificed by their priests to their gods; they now suffer themselves to be flogged to death for an unintentional lie. May those lies which the missionaries purposely send forth into the world be punished with less severity; let those which they utter unconsciously be entirely forgiven to them!

'The same evening, Captain Wendt and I paid a visit to Governor Adams, who occupies the castle of Honoruru as his residence. We found him seated on a chair, in the open court-yard, surrounded by more than a hundred of his servants and soldiers, whose duty it was to entertain his excellency by their conversation. It was a splendid evening; the moon shone so bright, and the air was so mild, that full often did we envy the inhabitants of these islands such a dwelling-place. This kind of evening entertainment, such as John Adams was then enjoying, is in general use amongst the aristocracy of the Sandwich Islands. Soon after supper the people collect around their patron; they lie down in a circle about him, and exert themselves to shorten the long evenings by their talk. Singing and dancing, as well as all lively expressions of joy, have, however, disappeared from the huts of these people, since the proselyte-makers, through the weakness of an old queen, introduced the new regime amongst them.'

They left the Sandwich islands on the 22d July, 1831, and arrived off the coast of China, on the 14th Jan. 1832. Nothing worth relating occurred upon the way. At this point, the regular course of the narrative is interrupted to introduce a visit paid by Dr. Meyen and some others of the crew to the Philippine group, 'ook place at a subsequent period; and the resources and 'ese islands are described with our author's usual full-

It seems that the elegant amusement of cock-
d with unparalleled vigour.

le day at the village of San Matheo (in
Lucon),

Lucon), principally with the view of making excursions in the neighbourhood; unfortunately, we could only sleep during some hours of the night, for soon after midnight the crowing of the fighting-cocks began; and so soon as one raises his voice, all the others throughout the village answer him. The passion for cock-fighting is universal amongst the inhabitants of these islands. There is no house without at least three or four fighting-cocks; they are generally kept in the kitchen, at some distance from one another, tied by one foot under a bench, so that two of these animals are constantly looking at each other, and at every bit of food that is given to either of them, become mutually exasperated. For hours at a time they front each other prepared for battle, but they are tied so firmly that it is impossible for them to come to blows. When the islander takes a walk through the village, he has always his favourite cock under his arm, and, generally, whenever two meet on the public way, they instantly set their birds a-fighting. At Manilla, close to the promenade, a circus has been built for the express purpose, in which regular fights take place three days in the week; thither the people are to be seen repairing from the vicinity of the town, and from the provinces, all carrying their cocks under their arms. Not until sunset do they retire home, and many then carry their dead cocks in their hands, who have either fallen honourably in battle, or been killed by their owners for misbehaving themselves.'

There is a peculiar kind of bird-nest abounding on the Philippine islands, which is in high request amongst Chinese gourmands. Mr. Trelawney, in his 'Adventures of a younger Son,' tells us that the price of a moderate cargo is occasionally immense, and relates an amusing story of an ignorant English captain, who threw overboard enough of them to have made the fortune of his family. Dr. Meyen thus explains the precise composition of this luxury:—

'The weed which composes this branch of commerce is the *Sphærococcus cartilagineus var. setaceus aq.*, which is found in great abundance in this part of India. It is eaten by the bird (*Hirundo esculenta*) which builds the nests in question, and is used in the preparation of its precious nest. The swallow eats the fresh weeds and permits them to soften for some time in its stomach, after which it throws up the mass, now converted into a jelly, and sticks it together to form the nest. The nests, which are subsequently smeared over with dirt and feathers, are brought in their raw state to China, where they are cleaned in immense warehouses built for the purpose, and then exposed for sale. These so-celebrated Indian nests are, therefore, hardly anything more than the softened *Sphærococcus cartilagineus* which we have brought with us from the Chinese seas, and their effect is no other than that of fine jelly. In the preparation of these nests such a number of fine stimulants are generally added, that they of right occupy the first rank amongst relishes at the tables of the Chinese. The Japanese

Japanese had long ago discovered that these costly bird-nests are nothing more than softened sea-weed, and now prepare the substance itself in an artist-like manner.'

Some of our own epicures may be glad to learn that the *Sphærococcus crispus*, which Dr. Meyen thinks would serve just as well for the composition of this luxury, is to be found in large quantities on the western and northern coasts of Great Britain.

China has been so very frequently described that we despair of attracting attention to Dr. Meyen's general account of it, though we must do him the justice to say that many of his details are new. We shall merely extract a few passages illustrative of the Chinese mode of living, which our author enjoyed some favourable opportunities of studying:—

'A few days before our departure from Canton we found at our house a visiting card from the Hong merchant Mowqua, and an invitation to dinner along with it; their notes of invitation are much larger than those in use amongst us, and written on extremely beautiful red paper. Mowqua is one of the youngest Hongists; he is in the possession of the white knob upon the cap, which, as it struck us, is of ivory, and betokens the fifth rank of Mandarins. About half-past six in the evening we presented ourselves at this alfermanic dinner, as the English call it; servants with large lanterns guided us, and quantities of cotton were provided to fortify the drums of our ears against the Chinese music. The space before the door, and the whole entrance, were filled with attendants; Chinese lanterns were burning on all sides, and the most startling music welcomed our arrival.

'As the guests entered, they were saluted by the host and his son, and amidst a profusion of compliments conducted quite up to the chairs in the reception-room. The attire of these rich Chinese on the

merchant were two large lanterns of horn; they were full three feet high and two feet and a half broad, yet nowhere could we see any trace of a joining. We also remarked that Mowqua possessed a large English plate of looking-glass, which is much superior to the Chinese, but he desired not to attract attention by the use of European articles, and had therefore caused the plate to be fixed in an ordinary and very clumsy Chinese frame. In a large adjoining room was the whole instrumental music, with several eminent singers, who kept playing during the whole feast, and performed a kind of opera; the noise they made was positively horrible, but the Chinese took no notice of it; only when the entertainment paused for a moment they listened to the singing, and had commonly a joke to laugh at or an observation to make.

'Presently the dinner began: we were conducted into another room, and took our places at little four-cornered tables, each meant for six persons. The tables were placed together in the form of a half-circle, and the side towards the centre remained unoccupied. At the middle table sat the host, and at every other table sat a Chinese, who did the honours of it. The empty sides of the table, where no one sat, were hung with scarlet drapery, beautifully worked in embroidery of gold and different coloured silks; Chinese flowers, but not very striking forms, furnished the pattern. On the front edge of each table were placed the finest fruits in little baskets, with beautiful flowers stuck between them. Besides these, the whole table was covered with little cups and plates, which were ranged with great precision, and contained fruits, preserves, confectionery, slices of bread and butter, with small birds cold, and hundreds of other things. An extraordinary degree of art had been expended in the arrangement of those articles; amongst the rest were whole rows of little plates, filled with elegantly-raised three and four cornered pyramids, composed of little bits of pheasants, larded geese, sausages, and so forth. Here stood plates with small oranges; there preserved plums; and here again almonds. Various little seeds of different colours were served upon shallow saucers, so arranged, however, that each colour occupied a particular field. We here recognized a kind of quince seed, of very delicate flavour; chick-peas, which, if eaten frequently, are said to produce a very bad effect; and chestnuts and hazel-nuts, which come from the province of *Pecheli*, and greatly excel our fruits of the same kind. There were, moreover, grapes, which likewise came from the northern provinces of the empire; with preserved ginger, citrons, and lemons. After making but a short stay in China, one is accustomed to see daily and hourly that the Chinese conduct all their arrangements in a different style and manner from ourselves; it was thus also with the repast, for we began with the dessert.

'By way of cover, three small cups are placed before each seat; the first on the left hand is filled with soy, which the Chinese add to almost every sort of food: the second serves for the ordinary eating; and in the third is a little spoon of porcelain for the soups.

cups. In front of these three cups, which are ranged in a line, are the two round little chop-sticks, which, in rich houses, are made of ivory. It is extremely difficult for strangers to get at their food with these sticks, and the Chinese were amused with our unskilfulness; one was overheard to whisper, "Here are wise Surgeons for poor; they cannot so much as eat properly!" Mr. Lindsay understood him perfectly. Instead of napkins, small three-cornered pieces of paper are placed near the covers; these are ornamented with stripes of red paper, and are used by the Chinese to wipe their hands.

"The dinner began by the hosts inviting us to eat of the finer dishes; whilst we were eating them, he kept calling our attention to the flavour or the rarity of this or that thing; and the mode of eating was to convey the food to the mouth with the two sticks, out of the dish; for a small bowl was the largest vessel placed upon the table during the whole entertainment. The Chinese place no cloths upon the tables, but instead, so soon as the course is finished, the whole board is removed, and a new surface, as it were, with fresh things, is served. As soon as the first course was removed, another small cup was added to each cover; this was used for drinking hot samtschu, a fermented liquor made of rice, which at a Chinese table supplies the place of wine, and which is always served boiling; servants walk round with large silver cans, and help everybody to this nectar; which, principally on account of its heat, begins very soon to operate. The Chinese, in drinking wine, observe nearly the same rules as the English:'—[We presume the doctor had studied our English modes of wine-bibbing at one of the sailors' pot-houses in Dover]—'they challenge to drink, then hold the cup with both hands, and, after wishing each other health and happiness, drink it off at a draught; whereupon they turn the inside of the cup towards the person with whom they are drinking, and show that they have drained every drop.

several courses, five small tables were placed outside of the half-circle of the original tables; these were completely covered with roasted pork and birds of all sorts. Then ten cooks came into the room, clothed all alike and very tastefully, and began carving the roasts. Two placed themselves before each table, and commenced, with long knives, to sever the hard roasted skin of all these viands, which was done most skilfully. Other servants, who stood in front of the tables, received the little bits, into which all these roasts were cut, upon small plates, and then placed them on the middle of our tables. At the end of the whole meal, the cooks came again into the room, and returned thanks for the honour which had been done them in being permitted to cater for the illustrious company. I shall here close the description of this dinner, which perhaps has wearied the indulgent reader more than it did us; yet full six hours were we obliged to sit at it, and many hundreds of dishes were served up.'

The streets of Canton are not above five feet or five feet and a half wide, yet all sorts of cookery are constantly going on in them; and among the articles enumerated are some which we had never before heard of as embraced even by the unscrupulous Chinese *cuisine.*

'They eat almost every thing that comes to hand. Upon the streets of the city, but particularly on the large square before the factories, a number of birds are daily exposed for sale which amongst us have not yet gained much repute for flavour; among others, hawks, owls, eagles, and storks. To a European, nothing can have a more laughable effect than to see the Chinese arrive with a carrying-pole supporting two birdcages which contain dogs and cats instead of birds. A small thin sort of spaniel appeared to us to be most in request; they sit quite downcast in their temporary dwellings when they are brought to market, whilst the cats make a dreadful squalling, as if conscious of their fate. The flesh of these last, when they are well fed, is much esteemed in China, and they are often seen on the tables of the rich. Other Chinese bring upon their carrying-pole many dozens of rats, which are drawn quite clean, and, like pigs in our country, when they have been opened, are hung up by means of a cross piece of wood through the hind legs. These rows of rats look very nice, but they are only eaten by the poor.'

The dog-eaters, we have somewhere read, are regarded by all living animals of that order with unmitigated abhorrence. They are said to nose a man addicted to this kind of luxury in the streets, gather round him in crowds, and often attack him with fury.

The concluding chapter of these volumes is devoted to St. Helena, where, as the author observes, very little wearing even the semblance of novelty has been left for later travellers to glean. He is very angry with us because part of the villa in which Napoleon died is now occupied as an alehouse; but he might

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have reflected, that this is in fact a compliment to the celebrity of his hero, more especially as he tells us that he himself found it very comfortable to have a glass of beer at the conclusion of his pilgrimage to Longwood. He adds:—

'Napoleon's sitting-room is at present a stable; and in a garden which he himself laid out before his window, the English sheep thrive and fatten so well that they are set apart for the table of the governor. The new residence, which was built for Napoleon, lies some hundred paces from the old house. The governor of the island occupies it at present; the best proof that the air there is not so unhealthy as the emperor described it.'

We suppose Dr. Meyen would wish us to keep up Longwood in the style of one of the temple-tombs of the Grand Moguls; but we suspect, the Prussian government, which so strenuously insisted on the living man's incarceration, would not volunteer to defray any part of the cost of such an establishment.

In conclusion, we think it right to add, that although Dr. Meyen has professedly reserved his scientific discoveries for his forthcoming volumes, a great quantity of curious botanical, zoological, and geological information is contained in the two now before us. The work when completed will, we have no doubt, be generally considered as a valuable addition to the German library; and we hope in due time to see it in an English dress.

Art. III.—*A History of Architecture.* By Thomas Hope, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1835.

HOW is it that the English gentry, so many of whom are possessed of wealth, leisure, and cultivated minds, have

corner of the kingdom, is there one in a hundred which, for purity of design, harmony of parts, or becoming effect, at all indicates a judicious application of the sums expended? The most slender acquaintance with the structures recently reared on the Continent can leave no doubt on the mind of any rational man that, as compared with some of our neighbours, our success has been in the inverse ratio to our means. We observe nowhere any fixed or acknowledged maxims of taste—no received standard of excellence; nor do we discover anywhere a body of men sufficiently able and united to make their opinions heard or respected. To help to rectify this state of things, we cannot do better than recommend the example of the laborious and accomplished author of the present History. Mr. Eustace, in enumerating the most essential acquirements of a traveller, long ago said,—

'No art deserves more attention than architecture, because no art is so often called into action, tends so much to the embellishment, or contributes more to the reputation of a country. It ought therefore to occupy some portion of time in a liberal education. Had such a method of instruction been adopted a century ago, the streets of London would not present so many shapeless buildings, raised at an enormous cost, as if designed for eternal monuments of the opulence and of the bad taste of the British nation.'

General taste has assuredly not improved since the time when these sentiments were recorded. It is impossible to speak of the architecture of Brighton, or of some of the new quarters of London and Edinburgh, with too much reprobation. Such an exhibition as these present is a positive disgrace to the country and to the age in which they have been reared. Mr. Eustace wrote feelingly, and perhaps under consciousness of his own scanty stock of the science which he so strongly recommends to others. The same deficiency has been felt by hundreds of his countrymen in that land, whereof the history, ancient and modern, is so indissolubly connected with the triumphs of art. To those peaceful triumphs, the recollections, the literature, and conversation of the inhabitants perpetually recur. A scientific acquaintance with art becomes thus a necessary preparation for every gentleman who would travel in Italy—even if for no other object than that of social gratification.

'In the works of ancient authors,' observes Mr. Hope, 'allusions to the productions of ancient artists are so frequent; so much do the productions of Greek painters and sculptors explain and illustrate the speculations of Greek orators and poets; so much do the same history, mythology, and philosophy furnish the subjects for both,—that it seems almost impossible for the love of ancient letters anywhere to acquire great strength, and the love of ancient art to be restrained

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from following immediately on its footsteps. If such is not the case in England—if those same persons who in our schools receive instruction limited to the ancient classics, yet afterwards in the world show a remarkable ignorance of, and indifference to the fine arts—we must suppose that, even with respect to the former, their attention has been directed to the form rather than to the substance; to the language—the mere clothing and vehicle—rather than to the beauties displayed by the subject, or the genius which animated the author.'—pp. 516, 517.

None can traverse Italy without feeling or feigning some admiration for the noble remains of antiquity spread over its soil; nor is it possible for any one, who is not altogether dull and incurious, to remain dead to all pleasing impressions when he observes those grand historical piles of more recent erection which adorn every province and town of that delightful region. If he be, as the majority of travellers are, unlearned in the arts, occasions will occur, and that frequently, when he must be humiliated by his ignorance, and feel himself totally excluded from one of the purest and most abundant sources of gratification. Forsyth,* Woods, and a few other writers, who have confined their labours to particular spots of Italy, are the only exceptions to that total ignorance of architecture that is displayed in the numberless tours with which our countrymen have of late inundated the world.

But there is a higher consideration than that of mere private satisfaction, which ought to lead us to a well-directed study of architecture. In the strange changes of political life which occur in this country, a gentleman may find himself suddenly transformed into a trustee of some public institution, or director of public works, without being furnished by education or study

cient to have made England a second Italy—replete with noble structures, models of taste to its inhabitants, and a theme of admiration to surrounding nations. It is not the architect of an ugly building who is alone blameable; equally so is he at whose expense it is raised; the projector of deformity is a public offender. In former times, in some of the states of Italy, even private taste was controlled by the authorities. In Mantua, at one period, no building could be raised till the design had been sanctioned by the approbation of Giulio Romano. But where no restraint existed, the whole Italian people had more or less a feeling for the arts of refinement, as will be abundantly evident on surveying the palaces, villas, and halls of commerce in Genoa, Venice, and Florence. These present enduring monuments of the refined taste of their merchant-princes, when in their turn they possessed that commercial wealth which now in ours we enjoy. Since such arbitrary laws are out of the question in a free country, the necessity becomes more imperative to elevate national taste by multiplying the number of those who can observe and judge with discrimination. In no other way can the brood of monsters be stopped which are sure to be engendered by incompetent and ill-directed patronage.

Though we believe the seeds of good taste are sown in every part of Europe, unfortunately, in England the maturity of the fruit is retarded by, among other causes, one that does not act, or at least very partially acts, on the Continent. Whether it is to be attributed to the force of fashion—to a foolish opinion that the architecture of the middle ages, and of the period immediately preceding the full establishment of the classical, is best suited to our climate—or to some unaccountable perversion of taste—there is a decided inclination to adopt a disordered in preference to a beautiful and an orderly system of architecture. As well might the sculptor take, as a pattern of form, the dry, inanimate, wire-drawn figures of saints, kings, and martyrs, which line the porches of our cathedrals. Whatever favour jutting oriels, quaint gables, and fantastic chimney stacks may find in our eyes, they are, when stripped of the respect which antiquity commands, objects of ridicule and astonishment to the people of other countries. It seems to us that the reproduction of such forms in modern times is nowise more reasonable than to prefer the appearance of an

nished themselves with architects; witness the Report on the Post-Office, where it was stated that, since much ornament was not required, it mattered little whom they employed as architect. As if an edifice, because it did not pretend to magnificence, was to be entirely devoid of character; as if good proportions, and a graceful distribution of parts, did not form a most essential part of the study of the architect; and were not even more rare and more important qualifications than the employment of ornament; and as if convenience, solidity, and economy were not more securely obtained under a skilful artist.'—*Woods' Travels of an Architect, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 157.

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no cause to rest satisfied in the complacency of fancied superiority. Paris is yearly becoming more beautiful from the many noble structures planned and built in the true spirit of the antique. There can be no question that our continental neighbours do outstrip us; and our national pride is interested, that, with all our superior means, we should not be so surpassed. For public works our Parliament ought not to be niggardly in affording the means, but should be scrupulous in looking to the application of them. It might then happen, that the National Gallery now in progress, though it could never rival the sumptuousness of the Louvre, might not prove vastly inferior, both internally and externally, to the noble receptacles which Prussia and the secondary state of Bavaria have provided for their collections of art. We are far from believing that a Perrault, a Klenze, or a Schinkel could not be found in England, if the authorities had the taste and spirit to select the worthiest artist. It is a melancholy reflection, that, for want of competent directors, almost every grant for public buildings has of late ended in disappointment; nor is there any prospect of better things until some real knowledge in such matters exists in that assembly from which has emanated much of the evil we deprecate. If we are so organized as to be precluded from reaching that perfection of refinement said to have been possessed by the entire people of Athens, when the exhibitor of a bad picture or design was received in public with laughter and hissing;—if we can never become a people of connoisseurs—there is, at least, a certain degree of sound practical taste, founded on common sense and observation, which *is* within our reach.

Among the few of our countrymen who have been not professionally, but essentially architects, is the author of the publication before us.

'Architecture,' he observes, 'is one of the most arduous and difficult among the fine arts; no man can be entitled to the appellation of a proficient in the higher branches, who has not seen much and thought more. That taste, that knowledge, which in minds the most happily disposed for the arts are never the result of inspiration, but must be acquired by study and mature reflection—I dare venture to assert, I have done more to obtain them than almost any other person of my own age living. From an infant, architecture was always my favourite amusement. I scarce was able to hold a pencil, when, instead of flowers and landscapes, and all those other familiar objects, of which the imitation delights the generality of such children as show a turn for drawing, I already began dealing in those straight lines which seem so little attractive to the greatest number even of good draughtsmen.'

Most of us, as is well known, are inclined to set little value on the

'No sooner did I become master of my own actions, which happened at the early age of eighteen, than, disdaining any longer to ride my favourite hobby only in the confinement of a closet, I hastened forth, in quest of food for it, to almost all the countries where any could be expected. Egyptian architecture I went to investigate on the banks of the Nile; Grecian on the shores of Ionia, Sicily, Attica, and the Peloponnesus. Four different times I visited Italy to render familiar to me all the shades of the infinitely varied styles of building peculiar to that interesting country, from the most rude attempts of the Etruscans to the last degraded ones of the Lombards: Moorish edifices I examined on the coast of Africa, and among the ruins of Grenada, and Seville, and Cordova: the principle of the Tartar and Persian construction I studied in Turkey and Syria. Finally, of the youngest branch of the art, that erroneously called Gothic, I investigated the most approved specimens throughout England and most of the provinces of France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal. During eight years that this research lasted, I have willingly encountered, to perfect myself in an art which I studied from mere inclination, and from which I expected nothing beyond the pleasure of understanding it, fatigues, hardships, and even dangers, that would have disheartened most of those who follow it as a lucrative profession.'—*Introd.* p. vii.

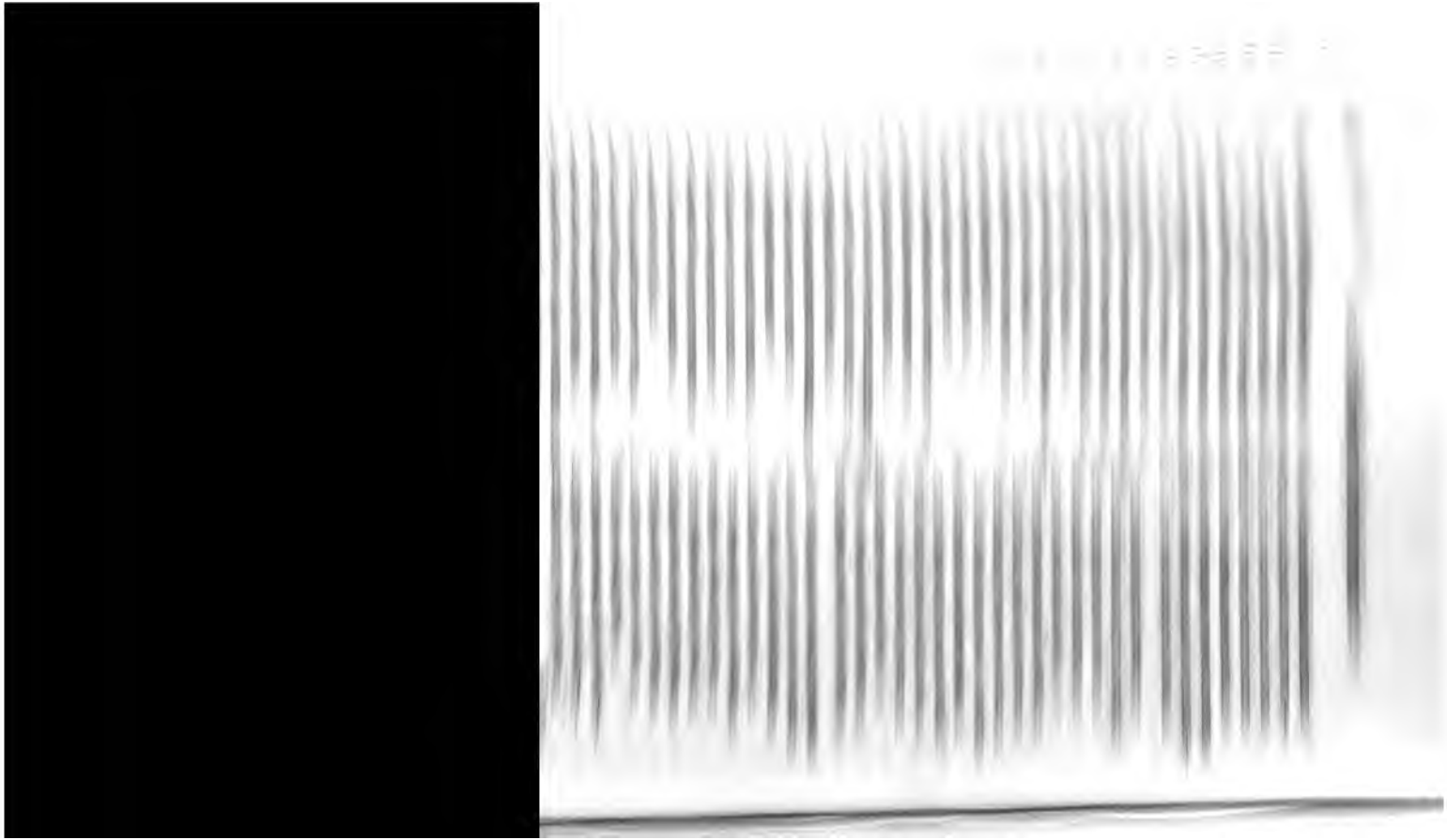
And again he says, with a modesty worthy of his undoubted genius,—

'I, who, though of merchant's blood, am not a merchant; who, though dabbling in authorship, rank not among the inspired; who can neither uphold the arts with the hand of a sovereign, nor praise them with the pen of a poet; who have only been able to bestow on a few humble artists the feeble patronage of an humble individual; and who can only, athwart the din of trade, the bustle of politics, and the clamour of self-interest, blinded by ignorance, raise in favour of the fine arts a feeble voice; have done all I could: but the most general flame may begin in a single spark; and should I succeed in kindling for the arts a purer, a more intense, a more universal love; should I thus be instrumental in promoting in the country a new source of health, wealth, strength, vigour, and patriotism, and nobleness of mind and feeling, most copious and most lasting—in calling forth to the evils awaiting a society whose prosperity borders upon plethora and dissolution, the most powerful preservative; I shall think myself the humble instrument of the greatest good that can be conferred upon humanity; and when comes the hour of death, I shall think I have not lived in vain.'—*Ibid.* pp. xii. xiii.

Mr. Hope's son, whose manner of editing this work deserves our praise, adds in a note,—

'Of his enthusiasm in the cause of the arts, thus described, the following lines, written late in life, entitled an "Adieu to Youth," give a vivid and a touching picture; and, though they never were intended to meet the public eye, I cannot refrain from inserting them:—

"Distant



prejudice of the artist; not hastily written and ill-digested as in the one case, nor with a view to support some favourite system, as too often happens in the other; not a dry, spiritless compilation; but the product of a mind prepared for such a task by nature and study, having no motive to turn to the right or to the left, in order to be the favourer of this or that person, or to flatter the caprice or the fashion of the day.

The chief deficiency of this work, considered as a general history of architecture, consists in the far too little notice taken of the restoration of classical taste, and of all the multiform modifications which it has assumed in different ages, as influenced by the tastes and habits of different countries. We have too high an opinion of the author's judgment not to suppose that, if life had been prolonged, he would have enlarged upon this important part of the inquiry; that he would have made due mention of the aqueducts, the harbours, and the sea-port moles of modern times—of gates, and towers, and other parts of military architecture—and that he would also have dwelt more at length on construction and the various kinds of building materials. Some account should have been given of the Lido and fort of San Niccola, at Venice—of the fortifications of Zara, and of the walls and gates, the vaults and bastions of Verona—all of them the work of San Michele—the forerunner of Vauban and Cohorn—and, in point of constructive skill, the most eminent of modern architects. Vanvitelli's Caserta aqueduct, some of the bridges of Europe, the docks of Ferrol, Sheerness, &c., Smeaton's Eddystone Lighthouse, and such grand architectural enterprizes, equal in their kind to the most celebrated of antiquity, the author's judgment would, we doubt not, have considered as richly deserving of attention.

On most of the other sections of the work we have no such criticism to advance. On all that relates to the middle ages, for example, Mr. Hope has brought to bear more erudition, acumen, and judgment than any preceding writer, not excepting the learned and judicious Agincourt. Aiming at truth, nothing is lightly advanced; facts and good sense lead to fair and natural inductions, and, if not always decisive, we know of no inferences equally plausible, or more entitled to consideration. The work is original without any affectation of originality. Novel ideas are fairly put forward, strongly enforced, and happily illustrated by a host of examples. We acquiesce entirely in the justice of his strictures on certain vicious modes of building and decoration. They assuredly will be unpalatable to many whose taste is thereby sharply reproved. It often happens that taste is inveterate, where it is indefensible; and it is vain to hope that the faith of the many in a false

a false creed will be shaken by arguments that carry conviction to the impartial and enlightened.

Our readers will expect us to say something on the language in which Mr. Hope's thoughts are communicated. It is copious and expressive, and occasional passages of eloquence occur not unworthy of the author of "Anastasius," and such as, it might be supposed, the nature of the subject, requiring a large portion of technical phraseology, would not easily admit. It may reasonably be objected, that he insists too often on being eloquent; and by too liberal a use of inversion and flowery language clouds the meaning, and diverts attention from the strictly scientific question which is under discussion. In this way he sometimes fails to impart the enthusiasm which he himself feels. An occasional want of perspicuity is also perceptible, a defect, however, which may be principally attributable to the posthumous nature of the publication. As specimens of the author's style, when he warms with his subject, we refer our readers to that passage where he describes the conversion of the simple wooden hut into the magnificent Greek temple; or to the following, on the old dark Christian Basilica:—

"With defects in the very construction of early basilicas—generally little more than a patchwork of old fragments, agreeing neither in material, colour, substance, form, proportion, nor workmanship—which only, more by what was most elegant, by that which was most rude—they vie, through the simplicity of their general form, and the consistency of the general distribution, display a grandeur produced neither by the lofty architecture of Egyptian Tombs, after it had finished all its Grecian consistency—nor by what has been called the later restoration of that architecture, loaded with all its additional extravagance of modern Italy. The long rows and aisles, divided by rows of

man in his rude state—the Carib, the New Zealander, the Tartar, &c.—being mere shelters from the inclemencies or heat of the climate, we arrive at epochs when the altar, the temple, or the dwelling-house, assuming a certain degree of form or character, may be dignified with the name of architecture. Mr. Hope regards the Hindoo, Persian, Chinese, Egyptian, and Grecian, as primitive styles, each indigenous to the soil; and accounts for any mutual conformity from similitude of climate, and from coincidences suggested by the materials, or by vegetable productions being common to different countries. To this we should add the consideration of the wonderful tendency of the efforts of the human mind in the infancy of art to arrive at nearly similar results. One of the author's opinions, that Grecian art derived no assistance from Egyptian, will not probably receive the concurrence of most of our readers. The general impression always has been, that the former people did borrow much from the Egyptians; and the new discoveries of every day are confirming it. The character, capability, and limits of the Greek style are, however, considered in a masterly manner. The propriety of each and every part of the temple—(and the temple is the beginning and end of Greek architecture)—is pointed out, as well as the relation which obtained between the ornaments and the destination of the edifice.

'The Greeks (he says) were not trammelled by too precise rules. . . . . But if they admitted not those arbitrary rules invented by the moderns, which serve only to lessen the beauties of architecture, they had been led by a happy organization for, and a profound study of its conditions, to adopt a great many others founded in nature itself, but unknown or unobserved by us, which enriched it materially.'—p. 42.

'To the last days of its independence, the architecture of the Greeks, like a bird still unfledged and incapable of soaring in air, showed what some may call its purity, others its deficiencies. To the last their inability to place any upright supports—whether columns, piers, jambs, or continued walls, in places where a covered roof was necessary, at a greater interval than a block of stone, or beam of wood might span—generated a degree of narrowness and contraction in their enclosures, and only permitted them to wall in a larger area on condition of leaving the edifice exposed to the sky. To the last their want of science produced an enormous consumption of materials in proportion to the space obtained. To the last the internal forms must, with all the elegance that could be applied to their limited combinations of outlines, have displayed a want of height, an angularity, an absence of curve and swell which enables the arch and cupola, and vault, to produce equal variety, connection, and harmony.'—p. 53.

To the new and important era in art that commences with the arch, now so essential an element in building, we are introduced with this remark:—

'Antiquarians—

'Antiquarians—a race of men sometimes desirous of showing that, where to others all is darkness, they can see clearly as in daylight—frequently, in their zeal to investigate and prove some peculiar point, forgetful to ascertain whether it is worth proving, have persuaded themselves they traced the invention of the arch back, not merely to Greece, but to Egypt and to India.....It is impossible to prove that the Romans were, or that the Greeks were not, the inventors of the arch.'

The arch may have originated in India, Egypt, or Etruria; but *cui bono* the mere geometrical form? That it *was* reserved for the Romans in the zenith of their power to become fully acquainted with the principle and power of the arch—and that this discovery, rendering available to construction every, even the poorest material, suggested and facilitated the execution of their vast operations—there can be no doubt whatever. Our author remarks that in Rome—

'There gradually arose a demand for buildings on a scale such as the world had never beheld, of public and of private utility, for the business and the diversion of the inhabitants. .... Rome became the focus of an accumulation of wealth, compared with which that possessed by any state at a former period, whether the commonwealths of Greece or the empires of Asia, was absolute indigence.....It were an endless task to recite the constructions so well adapted for every useful purpose, for every object of magnificence, reared within the immediate vicinity of Rome—aqueducts, bridges, forums, basilicas, temples, palaces, baths, theatres, amphitheatres, stadia, hippodromes, naumachia, and triumphal arches.'

He then proceeds to trace the decline of the art to a departure from the elementary model, and to the modification suggested

But our veneration need not go so far as to say, that inasmuch as Athenian architecture excels in pureness that of all other nations, the Athenians, had they kept their political independence, would have retained that architecture incorrupt and unchanged; or that, if they had thought fit to depart widely from the simplicity of the elementary model—(which they must have done had they been in the place of the Romans)—they would, nevertheless, have transcended all the performances of all other nations, and even those of their own descendants who worked under the Romans, by the invention of some faultless system of new forms. By those who thus decide the extremely narrow boundary of Grecian art, limited almost entirely to temples and porticos, and the fact that our earliest proofs of Roman corruption exist on the Grecian soil, have not been fully taken into consideration. On the other hand, because the Romans received the art pure, and did not preserve its purity, therefore to assume that they had no taste is a fallacy in reasoning arising from a blind enthusiasm for names, and an imperfect perception of the nature of the art, which requires allowance to be made for the infinite variety of structures demanded by the pride, wealth, and luxurious habits of the Roman people. We fully agree, however, with the author, that 'among all these recombinations of elements we nowhere discover any mode of decoration essentially new;' and that to this day the orders are, and ought to be, limited to the number exhibited in Grecian architecture.

In his chapters on the architecture of the early Christians, and its modifications down to the restoration of classical taste—including a period of more than 1000 years—the author presents a vast mass of valuable materials, and most of which are now for the first time brought together. To this section of the work we beg the special attention of the reader. He will find much that is opposed to national predilection, and to the recorded opinions of national writers. Mr. Hope says of himself:—

'Unfortunately, in my early travels, I chiefly thought of noticing those productions of more ancient or more modern art which numberless others had remarked before, and to which every guide-book directed my attention, instead of seeking those distant architectural approximations of the middle ages, which have yet been so little attended to, and which might make an interesting object to a traveller in the East as well as in Italy.'—p. 199, *note.*

He lived to make amends for these early omissions—but such has not been the case with almost any of his rivals.

We have not space to dilate on those chapters which treat of the conversion of the basilica into the Christian temple—the distribution of the parts—the materials of construction—the ornaments in

in painting and mosaic—the monograms and symbols of the faith—the introduction of imagery and other customs borrowed from the heathen—and, finally, the catacombs, urns, and sepulchral architecture in general. These are distinct topics, and all deserving of curious investigation. We ought to observe that Mr. Hope appears by no means to set the same artistic value on the catacombs and subterraneous mansions of the early Christians as M. Agincourt has done; and here we coincide with the judgment of the English author.

We now pass on to that new modification of Roman architecture, called Byzantine, exemplifying a further departure from first principles. The features of this are the vault and the cupola. 'As all in Athens had been straight, angular, and square, now all became curved and rounded.' 'Thus the final annihilation of Grecian art was owing to the Greeks themselves.' This people supplied artists to the caliphs and to the new sovereigns of Europe. The Arabian, the modern Persian, the old Russian, and the Mogul styles, are all offsets from the Byzantine stock.

The nomenclature which the author has adopted for the subsequent styles of building in Europe, in the middle ages, is as follows:—'Saxon' is very properly rejected altogether—'Norman' is included in 'Lombard'—and 'Pointed,' or 'Pointed-Arch style,' is preferred, on grounds sufficiently obvious, to 'Gothic.' We are disposed, however, to contend for the preservation of the word 'Norman,' denoting the architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries wherever that people settled. Their fashion, though not altogether different from that somewhat earlier put in practice in Italy and in the south of France, has certain distinctive signs, consisting chiefly in a smaller admixture of the Byzantine

soon prevailed wherever the Latin church spread its influence; from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Mediterranean; in part adopted from the more ancient Roman and Byzantine styles, in part differing from both—neither resembling the Roman basilica, nor the Greek cross and cupola.'—p. 250.

In assigning dates to the list of monuments which closes this section of the work, Mr. Hope agrees with Agincourt, Muratori, and other antiquarians of note. It is proper, however, to observe, that the truth of the dates given to some celebrated churches, for example those of S. Michele at Pavia, and S. Ambrogio at Milan, is by no means free from question. A controversy is even now going on; the one party asserting the period to be that of the Lombard domination in Italy, whilst the other maintains that it cannot be fixed beyond the eleventh or twelfth century.*

Arrived at a period when architecture underwent, both in forms and in science of construction, a complete revolution, Mr. Hope thus introduces his profound investigation of the pointed-arch styles:—

'Just at the period when the Lombard, or what may more particularly be called the round style of architecture, appeared, throughout the dominions of the Latin church, most firmly and universally established,—when it had, from its first source, spread in every direction, as far as the most extended influence of that church itself,—when its forms might, in a manner, have served to mark throughout Europe, Asia, and Africa, the precise extent and limits of the papal authority, —when, from its universal prevalence, it seemed to have secured an unlimited duration; we see it all at once, in the latter half of the twelfth century, abandoned for a style, both in its essential principles and its ornamental accessories, entirely new, and different from that and from every other former style;—of which I shall begin by stating the peculiar purposes, as shown by the modifications themselves, and the more essential transformations devised to attain these—forming its essential characteristics from its first birth, and through all the successivee stags of its further development, till the time of its final extinction. After which, I shall investigate how, where, and among whom it arose, and what different, lesser, more partial, and secondary changes it successively experienced previous to its ultimate abandonment.

'From the early, the widely diffused, and yet unconnected appearance of the mere *pointed arch*, and at the same time the evident contempt in which it was held, as a thing which might be admissible, as

* Sacchi and Cordero have written the best treatises on either side of the question. The essay of the last-named writer, printed in the Transactions of the Academy of Brescia, is not sufficiently known.

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The question—whence came Gothic architecture?—has been the source of more diversity and more conflicting opinions than even the controversy about the origin of the arch. We see no prospect, in the almost total absence of documents which the early masters of the art contemptuously possessed, that the question will be cleared of the obscurity and uncertainty with attending it. Those who, like Whitby and Mr. Hope, think it is to be deduced solely from the ordinary construction of Roman arch, are met in the threshold by the difficulty of accounting for a system so entirely new having come into universal operation among the different nations of Europe almost simultaneously. It will not be denied, that much of the style—of the pointed, may be traced to the old rounded styles;—but only in ornaments and in subsidiary parts. The leading forms and the whole system are of a character so distinct, as at once to suggest the idea that so much novelty must be foreign to Europe; and accordingly, among the favourers of an Eastern origin, we find Dr. Robertson, Whittington, and his editor Lord Aberdeen, with other good authorities. But Mr. Hope opposes them strenuously; and he adds, we think, quite conclusively,—

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absurdities of Dr. Warburton, and Sir James Hall, who fancied a vegetable type, are fully exposed, though it is perhaps slaying the slain.

'Warburton's idea, therefore,' in his concluding words, 'more worthy of a fanciful novelist than of a grave divine and critic, should be discarded by others, as it was ultimately by himself; and as the objections to the entire tree, with root and branches, of the English bishop, apply equally to the insulated post and twigs of the Scotch baronet, we shall leave them to strike what roots and put forth what branches they can.'—p. 373.

Not less whimsical is Murphy's reasoning on the origin of the pointed style, published in his Introductory Essay on the Batalha Church; and as far removed from truth as even that is Dr. Milner's discovery of a type in the accidental interlacings of round arches. So far was the reverend archaiologist carried out of his depth, in his anxiety to establish this theory, that the building, and the very point of the building, from whence the whole world derived Gothic architecture, were boldly fixed upon—in utter ignorance that similar combinations of arches were still visible in many Lombard structures of much earlier date than St. Cross at Winchester. But to expose the utter futility of the whole hypothesis, 'that from such superficial pointings arose, not only the arches, but all the other peculiar subsequent modifications exclusively belonging to the architecture known to us by the name of Gothic,' the perusal of the 34th chapter of the work under review will be amply sufficient.

A more important question remains:—Which nation of Europe was the originator of Gothic architecture? France, Germany, Spain, and England have all put forward their claims. Mr. Hope's inferences are drawn from the history, chronological and artistic, of the different countries, and from more valuable information afforded by the appearance, tendency, and internal qualities of the new fashion itself; and he is decidedly of opinion that England can, on no ground, lay claim either to the invention, to priority in its adoption, or to superlative excellence in its practice.

'It must be evident to all who have had an opportunity of comparing the different principal species of pointed edifices, in all the various countries possessing such, and who are not blinded by national prejudice—first, that, of the features of this style, such as clustered columns, pointed arches, groined vaults, taken each insulatedly and separately, and unconnected in a single complete system, the Continent affords much earlier specimens; secondly, that, of these different parts connected in one general consistent system, and wholly void of all mixture with features of the round styles, France, and Germany especially, offer examples, each in its peculiar sort earlier than

those in England: that, on the contrary, England, so far from affording the first, almost always exhibited the last specimens of every new modification introduced in the pointed style; that while England cannot show a single peculiarity in which some earlier instance may not be shown abroad, many of the later variations which arose in Italy, Germany, France, or the Netherlands, never reached the British shore."—pp. 401, 2.

Concurring in the greater part of these views, we dissent from Mr. Hope's summary denial of all originality to England. There is certainly a modification of the style peculiar to our soil: it is that which, as it chiefly flourished under the Tudors, may be aptly designated by their name; but it is precisely that one modification wherein the greatest aberration from the true principles of pointed architecture is remarked—that in which the slanting lines and acute angles, its most essential elements, are everywhere supplanted by the level line and the rectangle, and by flat or very obtuse terminations, and square compartments enclosing depressed arches.

"Our sacred edifices," Mr. Hope proceeds, "which, like the cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Wells, Winchester, Worcester, Gloucester, Litchfield, Westminster, and others, show the beauties of the pointed style most conspicuously, if analysed, will be found to display its elegancies in detached parts, not only unconnected with, but discordant from, the style of other parts; and which indicate the ideas for them to have been borrowed piecemeal from other quarters; rather than in that grand accordance of all the parts and unity of the whole, which mark an indigenous original conception, from which every detail flows alike, as from the same copious source: such as may be seen in the more celebrated edifices in the pointed style in France, Germany, and Italy; those of Abbeville, St. Omer,

these arches themselves arose; they do not show the design of these buildings as, in their whole, conceived on the spot where they stand —such as in Germany those immense cathedrals, whose roofs—and those stupendous steeples, whose summits—like those of Strasburg, Cologne, Frankfort, Ulm, Ratisbon, and Vienna, seem, from the very foundation of the building, to have been considered as integral parts of the design, to grow out of the very base, and to begin that pyramidising which is only to end at their highest apex. Finally, whatever fine specimens of the pointed style England may possess in that art, which is one of necessity—architecture—stand insulated, unconnected with, unresembled, unconfirmed in the originality they claim, by any body of specimens in the other arts of elegance less indispensable, such as sculpture, painting, miniature and manuscript writing, all in the same peculiar style, all alike notoriously indigenous, offering the same characteristics, evidently proceeding from the same abundant source, the same school, which are calculated to prove, through the analogy, the equally native source of that architecture. All these, on the other hand, France, in some degree, Germany, in a more remarkable manner, displays.'—p. 404-406.

'Thus England can on no grounds whatever claim the conception of the pointed style, as a grand whole, connected and harmonising in all its parts: we shall even see that it is perhaps, among the countries which adopted it, one of the farthest removed from its source; one of those which admitted it last, and which displayed it with less vastness, and less variety; as must be notorious to all those who have travelled in France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and have seen the magnificent monuments that fill most of these countries; and have heard of those others, no longer existing, which graced them before their revolutions, civil and religious.'—pp. 408, 409.

In corroboration of this, take Möller's criticism on our most admired cathedral—that of York:—

'As the English lay such positive claims to the merit of having invented and improved the pointed-arch style, a closer examination of this church will not be superfluous. Its main forms, the low gable-roof, and the flat towers, evidently belong to a southern style of building. The whole ornamental system, on the contrary, is of northern origin, and stands in evident contradiction to these leading forms. The pointed gable which crowns the middle window, and is repeated in all the ornaments of the edifice, does not harmonise with the flat gable of the roof. The flat roofs of the towers correspond as little with the other parts of the building; they should have necessarily terminated in pyramids, as all the smaller towers of the aspiring pillars have the pyramidal form. All this shows the incongruous mixture of two perfectly heterogeneous styles of building; and prejudices us so much the less in behalf of the originality of the English ecclesiastic architecture—as, at the time when York Minster was built, the German churches already displayed the completest development of the art.'—*Essay on Gothic Architecture*, p. 79. This

[illegible] is not merely an opinion—it is an incontrovertible fact—a [illegible] must be always remembered that [illegible] is not an exception—the defect here pointed out is the rule, [illegible] of our pointed-arch style. In the towers of [illegible], York, Ripon, Lincoln, Durham, Canterbury, &c., and of a host of parochial and collegiate churches, the same unpleasing discordance of horizontal with raking and vertical lines, and of pointed with truncated forms, may be seen.

The spire crowning the tower is a common feature in a few of our churches; upon the frequency of its occurrence, some have asserted it to be an English feature; and Mr. Hosking, speaking of the continent, declares it to be almost unknown there, except in Normandy. Let us see upon what foundation this assertion has been [illegible]. In France the spire is found almost everywhere; in Germany it is frequent; in Flanders it abounds, crowning alike the town-house and church belfry, and often other buildings; and in Alsace, and other provinces bordering the Rhine, it is a common feature even of churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thus much for fact. As to quality, what are the most beautiful in England, confronted with the great, transparent, yet solid spires of Germany? There are those of Fribourg, Bötzen, Eslingen, Munster, Thann, Vienna, and Strasburg, as light and curiously wrought as filigree or trellis-work; and of still more surpassing beauty would have been those of Ulm, and Cologne, and Mechlin, and many others, if completed according to the extant designs. We might cite others in France. But steeples are not confined to the north only; beyond the Pyrenees, we see, in the twin spires at Burgos, and in those of Leon cathedral, and of the church of Batalha, a perfection of open work superior to any-

as they had previously done in Italy; and that the Germans are the nation of Europe who, since the ancients, at least out of Italy, are the most signalized in inventions. Moreover, they were the first in the north to have a school of painting, chasing, engraving, and miniature, of their own; and, in a manner, are the only nation who, in the productions of each of these arts alike showed a particular fondness for the introduction of that same peculiar species of ornamental forms which we find in the pointed architecture. It is exemplified in everything; and even in their written characters, still in use, composed of rigid perpendicular lines, connected with sharp cusps, angles, and pediments.

'The Germans and Lombards, having a mutual sovereign, were brought into frequent contact. A rivalry ensued in taste, ideas, and arts, manifested in the new forms and modifications affected by the former, even in what they borrowed from Italy. The most celebrated structures of Germany offer, in all their component parts, piers, buttresses, pillars, arches, vaults, roofs, spires, and pinnacles, from the lowest foundation to the highest superstructure, in a degree unequalled elsewhere, a compactness, consistency, and harmony with each other; a gradual growth of the higher out of the lower, and *pyramidising;* an intention, announced from the lowest, and fulfilled to the very highest, of making every part tall, and sharp, and aspiring alike; proving that, even before the first and lowest was commenced, the size, and form, and weight, and pressure of the loftiest and last must have been calculated.

'In Germany, and in Germany alone, the more celebrated structures in the pointed style, whether churches or steeples, not only possess, in all their component parts, a harmony with and adaptation to each other, but, moreover, in all these component parts, both low and high alike, through their uniform spiriness and sharpness, manifest a peculiar fitness for a climate exposed to heavy snow-falls, that require to be prevented from resting upon and weighing down their coverings, and are better contrived to obviate this inconvenience than the pointed edifices of any other country. In Germany, and in Germany alone, we have, among the archives of chapters, found actual working drawings of edifices erected, or to be erected, on such a scale, and so complete and minute, as to prove that on the spot, and among the local lodges of freemasons, existed, as well the head that invented as the hand that executed those monuments.'—p. 417.

We think Mr. Hope's argument on this whole subject unanswerable; but we are still inclined to think that, in some respects, he has not judged English pointed architecture altogether fairly. Allowing a superior character to the finest continental structures, there surely are many specimens in this kingdom well worthy of claiming our admiration; and we conceive the author would not, on reflection, have cited with praise Bath,—one of our poorest cathedrals,—and yet omitted all mention of Wells, Salisbury, and the fronts

'To attribute to these Greeks the new love for arts and literature, which, after so many centuries of indifference, arose in Italy, is to do them too great honour.'—p. 514.

The honour is certainly to be given mainly to the Tuscans—Gaddi, Orcagna, Arnolfo, the Pisani, Masuccio, Cimabue, Giotto, and Masaccio prepared the way for Ghiberti and Donato, Brunelleschi and Alberti. The genius of these great revivers, enlightened by deep reflection and the study of the ancient monuments extant in their country, owed little or nothing to the artistic lessons of Constantinople. Yet in all this we must not be suspected of any wish to depreciate the salutary influence of certain learned exiles, who, after the fall of Palæologus, repaid the hospitality of Italy by further stimulating and enlightening her admiration of the master-pieces of Greek literature, and thus most powerfully advancing the already commenced 'march of intellect' and of taste in all departments.

Our limits do not allow us to examine in detail the subsequent, although practically that is much the most important, section of Mr. Hope's work. We must, however, find room for his brilliant analysis of the first scion that sprung from the revived stock of what he—(perhaps not with complete accuracy or justice)—calls '*Grecian* Architecture:'—

'A mere masquerade under ancient features, rather than a true imitation of the ancient principles in building, produced these lineaments. Whatever might be the extent and vastness of the whole, the parts still were made to look like a collection of miniature models. Like every tyro in a new science, who, proud of his acquirements, wishes to display all he has learnt, and by that means only shows that he has not yet learnt all, the new architects seemed to make each new building a pattern-book only of all the different ancient orders. The minuteness of the sub-divisions and the lowness of the relief might be well enough calculated to give to buildings really small, and only intended to be seen from a short distance, an appearance of size; but, from the flatness, the low relief of the different members, the total want of that boldness, that projection, that breadth of light and shade, necessary to produce a distant effect, it left those really large, tame, and insipid; and as the want of strong contrast of light and shade was often supplied by the juxtaposition of a great variety of materials and colours, it frequently resembled a painted more than a real architecture. Those imitations of animal and vegetable life—of nature and of art, made to grow out of each other in the most whimsical manner, which Vitruvius describes as already in his time superseding all other architectural decorations of a chaster sort—which the excavations of ancient baths and other subterraneous structures had again brought to light—which thence had at first received the appellation of *grotesques*, or *ornaments found in grottos*—in its original sense more appropriate than that which fathers them upon

or symmetry. This taste, too, like all the former born in Italy, soon passed into France. It graced the dotage of the fourteenth Louis, whose youth had seen better things. From France it spread like wild-fire all over the Continent, and was wafted across the channel to the British shores, where—as it is well shown in Italy in the modern part of Piranesi's prints, and in France in the pictures of Watteau—itis happily exemplified in the furniture of Hogarth's compositions, and known by the name of the old French taste. Though Italy has the credit of the invention, its proper name should be the inane or frippery style.'—p. 557-559.

Strong as is this denunciation of a taste now unfortunately the fashion of the day, it deserves no more lenient treatment—it is no better than a mere methodized system of deformity, reducible to no other rule or principle but that of an abhorrence of all true geometrical forms—the only elements of beauty in architectural composition. We see a mixture of lines the most incongruous; the curve cut short in the midst of its course by the straight line, and the straight distorted from its direction, reverting again to the circumflex: nothing is continuous; and none of this maze of involved lines, fatiguing and perplexing the eye, can be unravelled or traced to a natural termination. There is a constant recurrence of every ugly angle, and nowhere the rectangle. All that is rational is reversed; we see weights tottering under shambling supports, and slight shelves and cornices sustained on thick and gouty piers and consoles: even the surfaces, when not flat, do not follow an easy undulation, but the level part suddenly rises into a swell, and as abruptly again subsides into a plane. Such conceits as these, and bouquets, and flames, and frills, and linen-folds, wrought in hard and solid material, it were endless to enumerate. This worst of French tastes, the returning light of reason has long since caused our neighbours themselves utterly to discard. Let us hope that its ill-placed admiration will be transient also among ourselves. All experience shows, that an affection for forms repugnant to the beau-ideal of the Greeks and Romans, be they Chinese, Egyptian, Dutch, or Gallic, is sure to be ephemeral; reason soon intervenes, and leads us back to truth.

Revived classic architecture would do little honour to Italy, if only to be estimated by what modern Rome contains. But—

'In other parts,' says Mr. Hope, 'there started up now and then an architect who, like Palladio, sought to stem the torrent of bad, and to construct edifices in a better taste. Many superb façades, concealed in the narrow streets and the most uncouth corners of Vicenza, still bear the marks of his sublime genius. It is singular, that—while Rome, where existed the finest and most numerous remains of ancient architecture, should have produced Fontana, Borromini, and Bernini, most remarkable for whim and extravagance—in the north of Italy should

ıt in a continued line. The pedestals
›ccasionally suppressed—an improvement
ɜ of his predecessors, which deserves
of the piers between the windows—in
.tive proportions of void and solid space,
l flat to the projections—the quantity of
and shadow—Palladio's elevations* are
the projections so happy, that either to
ıllibly mar the general effect. Scarcely any
ided in the same way, yet they are seldom
, proving in this how rule is nothing with-
—that, far from there being any absolute
demanded for almost every accident of
.tive as well as positive, and what is a de-
be even felicitous in certain circumstances.
ınd effect, so important, and so little un-
ıposition, is pleasingly exemplified in the
ho estimates the design of this little coun-
.etrical drawings only, can have no idea of
.e outline and form to the situation. There
ery conducive to beauty in an elevation,
ted by modern artists—that it looks not
ut also in oblique views. No one has
ely the difficult art of profiling than Pal-
ın palaces, as of old in the Roman, the
ɜcture is often chiefly displayed within the
ɜers of this master, apparently, have not
ds.

that this great man had not the oppor-
tyro enjoys, that of drawing from the mo-
elf, as well as from the less pure remains
what he has done gives assurance that he
at his death nearer perfection than it now
to be. As it was, had he been equally
:n of inferior intellect—his contempora-
of governments—had he been employed
luct operations on a large scale, he would,
equeathed to posterity an art invested with

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e to the profusion of ornament on some of his eleva-
r in condemning even this. The Greeks, scrupulous
, lavished on the walls sculpture, and even painted
.n truth, Palladio is not answerable for what is thus
n of the day to indulge fancy in plaster figures and
rchitecture; and Vittoria, and other famous stuccoists,
ody their fancies on the smooth walls raised by the

higher

utility and practical application, to the great variety of later developments of the art, suggested by the increasing demands of new conditions of society—never contemplated in Athenian philosophy—either deceive themselves, or would deceive others.

The Greek temples, in the first place, exquisitely beautiful so far as they go, were meant for a worship which did not require the presence of the multitude within the walls. They are all in the interior of very small dimensions; and, from a similar cause, they are equally poor as regards the means of obtaining light. In Christian churches, where a multitude congregate, ample space is demanded, and also an abundant supply of light to be transmitted through openings in the lateral walls, and not through the roof and doorway alone. These considerations suggested to the Roman Christians the superior advantages of the Basilican over the Temple form. The Roman basilica is the real archetype of modern churches; and if for such structures the Temple of the Greeks is inappropriate, much more must it be so for all domestic purposes. The architect of the present day may continue to observe as much Grecian severity of character as he chooses; but he ought to know that he has at his command resources, drawn from old Roman magnificence, and from the happy inventions of modern Italy, far greater than Greece can furnish; and he will do wisely not to debar himself from still further enriching his mind in other countries of Europe. In this way disciplined and instructed, if the aspirant to fame in his calling is capable of rising above a feeble practitioner, he will be strong enough to withstand the empyricism of the day, and advance the art by opening an abundant source of invention. Then, in pursuit of the grand, he will not rest in mere size and mass—ponderosity will not be mistaken for solidity, meagreness and debility for lightness and elegance, baldness for simplicity, perplexity for variety, insipidity for sobriety, nor deformity for symmetry and beauty.

At present all is unsettled—each professor has his idol; one rears a barn-like parish church, and would have Norman ugliness admired for its cheapness; another would revive the bastard style of King James, in street architecture, and raises up a tower-like house, as if to deter imitation; a third gentleman, fond of innovation and devoid of taste, may revert to Hindoo or Egyptian forms and ornaments. A large class are for the re-establishment of Gothic, blind to the fact, which they demonstrate by their own practice, that the spirit of the style and the ability so to build have departed from us, as much as the social state which inspired them. There are others, and they are, as has already been hinted, an increasing sect, who can endure the ravings of Borromini, and would imitate the French vagaries of the same school. But the loudest

of knowledge. We should thus render available to instruction all that the civilization of those countries has produced, and give the widest possible expanse to genius; but at the same time we should enjoin the avoiding of all heterogeneous mixtures—the constant observance of fitness of character and consistency throughout—of the relation of all the parts, one to another, and each to the whole; and last, not least, the shunning of a scrupulously affected purism—scarcely less baneful than the opposite extreme, licentiousness. Thus may a truly national style be created, as uniform in principle, as capable of endless variety in practice. In the hope of such a consummation we confidently rest, and gladly bear testimony once more to Mr. Hope's distinguished services towards its attainment.

ART. IV.—*Correspondence d'Orient,* 1830, 1831. Par M. Michaud, de l'Académie Française, et M. Poujoulat. Vols. I. to V. Paris, 1833-4.

M. MICHAUD, the well-known historian of the Crusades, had meditated a more complete and elaborate account of his travels in the East: the state of his health, and the fatal influence of the recent revolution on his fortunes, have compelled him to abandon this design, and to publish his correspondence with his private friends, of which the fifth volume now lies before us. The first of the series contains letters written during his voyage, up to his arrival on the plain of Troy; the second those from the shores of the Hellespont and Constantinople; the third those on the road from Constantinople to Jerusalem; the fourth and the fifth (with the sixth yet unpublished) embrace those written from Palestine, Syria, and Egypt.

However we may regret the circumstances which have interfered with the accomplishment of M. Michaud's more ambitious project, we doubt whether we should not have made a disadvantageous exchange, if these agreeable letters, written with all the freshness and animation of the author's daily impressions and feelings, had been wrought up into a stately and laboured book of travels.

M. Michaud is of the old school in politics and religion. However his opinions on the first head may be unsuited at present to the meridian of Paris, his ardent though liberal Christianity is an excellent qualification for a traveller in the East, most especially in Palestine. There is something very touching in his allusions to the misfortunes of his patrons and friends. We pity that man whose heart is so hardened, and his moral sense rendered so obtuse by party feeling, as not to admire the honourable fidelity

 with

with which the Carlist man of letters, the consistent loyalist, adheres to the fallen fortunes of his political friends, and contemplates the vicissitudes of power and distinction with a wise and religious melancholy. 'If he had written what might be called a work,' M. Michaud modestly says, 'he would have dedicated it to the minister to whom he had been indebted for valuable encouragement.'

'It would have been pleasant to address flattery to misfortune, and to utter my gratitude through the bars of a prison. I trust, notwithstanding, that Prince Polignac will find herein the expression of those sentiments of attachment which no revolution can weaken; I shall consider myself happy, if, from the distant countries of the East, I can bring him, I will not say an enjoyment, but a distraction; and the best fortune I can wish for my book and for myself will be to occupy for some hours the studious leisure of his captivity.'

M. Michaud was at Toulon preparing for his voyage during the scenes of joyous festival which celebrated the embarkation of the expedition against Algiers. Some dark presentiments even then overshadowed his mind.

'If it be true that we have always some hope in the time of misfortune, we have always some fear to chequer our days of happiness. During my stay at Toulon I saw General Bourmont almost every day; we had formerly known each other in *the prison of the Temple*, in that prison where every stone was prophetic of calamity. Since that time our lives had experienced every vicissitude of fortune; and by a singular destiny, behold! each now found himself at the head of a crusade; M. de Bourmont commanding a noble army, and preparing an invasion in which the genius of Charles V. had failed; I finishing my career as an historian by a more modest expedition, and setting out with the pilgrim staff and scrip to follow the tracks of the crusaders whose exploits I had related. Our present situation did not blind either of us; and the future presented itself through our old recollections of the Temple. General Bourmont was occupied with the preparations for his great crusade, and had no time for other thoughts. But I, who had not so many preparations to make, had time to meditate on the uncertainty of human affairs.'

Among the literary friends to whom these letters are addressed, appears the name of M. Bazin, the author of a very clever work, 'L'Epoque sans Nom.' It contains a set of sketches of Parisian society and manners, from the highest to the lowest classes, written in the character of a lounger—(the nearest word which we can think of to answer to *flaneur*)—very graphic, full of quiet irony, and not altogether very favourable to the change which took place at the Revolution of the Three Days.

But though the political connexions of M. Michaud thus transpire occasionally in his correspondence, his views on the singular revolutions now operating in the East, must be allowed by even the

the most liberal of his readers to be full of good sense and moderation. He appears to have laid himself out to obtain information from all classes and nations, Turks, Greeks, and Franks, about their present feelings and opinions. There are many passages instructive as well as amusing upon the state of regenerated Greece, Turkish reform, and Egyptian political economy. But the great charm of the book is the colouring which it has taken from the author's former studies. Though keenly alive to the old classical associations which haunt the shores of Greece and Asia Minor, M. Michaud, and his young disciple M. Poujoulat, who seems to have been fully impregnated with the spirit of his master, are constantly starting off into the antiquarianism of the middle ages. In the Morea and in Asia Minor, they willingly abandon Leonidas and Achilles to follow the steps of Villehardouin, of Conrad, or of Frederick the Swabian. Even in Palestine, though strongly impressed with Christian reverence for those scenes which have been ennobled by a holier presence, they still find time to trace the fields in which Godfrey and English Richard planted the triumphant banner of the Cross. We are glad that an example is thus set to future travellers to turn some part of that attention which has so long been exclusively bestowed on the monuments of classic times, and the illustration of the Greek and Roman writers, to these, very often the most picturesque, and by no means the least interesting remains of antiquity. In Italy, it is sometimes extremely disappointing, that while the guide-books and the ordinary volumes of travels are full of trite quotations, and lavish of their erudition on every field, on every stone, which is connected with Roman antiquity, we seek in vain for information on the history of some wild castle trembling upon a precipice, or some grey convent which bounds the horizon; yet each of these buildings is perhaps connected with times as eventful, or at least with exploits as stirring and adventurous, as those of the Roman age. All this, however, is to be wrought out by the traveller himself from the voluminous pages of Muratori, or those valuable local histories in which Italian literature is so rich, but which require no slight sacrifice of time and labour to work the way through their thick close-printed quartos. A guide-book or a volume of travels, which should devote itself in some part to the romantic antiquities of Italy, and perhaps of Greece, would be a companion which every intelligent traveller would receive with grateful welcome.

Before we illustrate the manner in which this 'ruling passion' for the picturesque and romantic associations of the middle ages kindles at once at the sight of any shore or country signalized by any remarkable scenes during the Crusades, we must pause to troduce a very pleasing specimen of the descriptive powers of M. Michaud.

this time, the reign of the Emperor Frederick II. From Sicily we follow our author's vessel to the shores of Greece, but even in the bay of Pylos the remembrance of old Nestor, of the battle of Sphacteria, immortalized in the page of Thucydides, and that of Navarino, which awaits its immortality, cannot withdraw our author from his old allies. The comparison between Nestor and Nicholas of St. Omer is whimsically characteristic.

'Our old chronicles inform us that Nicholas of St. Omer caused the castle of Navarin to be built, that is to say, he reconstructed the city of Pylos. One is delighted to see the name of Nestor mingled up with that of a knight of Picardy or Flanders: the former quitted Greece, with his sons, to fight under the walls of Troy; the knight of Picardy, with his family, quitted France to go to the conquest of Byzantium or Jerusalem. Nestor returned to his beloved Pylos; but the lords of St. Omer renounced their native country, to establish themselves in the sovereignty of Thebes and on the coast of Messenia. At present, what remains of Pylos or of ancient Navarin is a vast enclosure, surrounded by walls flanked with towers; these walls and tower, which call to mind the fortifications of feudal France, have not greatly suffered by the encroachments of time. Shrubs, plants, and grass grow in the deserted inclosure; serpents, tortoises, and grasshoppers are the last inhabitants of the city of Nestor and St. Omer.'

M. Michaud does not take a very sanguine view of the prospects of *regenerated* Greece. His visit took place during the negotiation with Prince Leopold, who had not yet abandoned all thought of the throne of Athens; but who since then, unlike the good knight of St. Omer, has preferred a palace in Flanders to the united kingdoms of Nestor, Agamemnon, and Theseus. King Otho had not yet been heard of as a candidate for the crown of Greece. There is much sound wisdom in the following observations:—

'When we consider the population, almost entirely recruited from foreign countries, on all the shores of Greece, we regret not to find some agricultural settlers, some men fit to cultivate the soil; these are the men which the country wants; but all those who arrive bring only unproductive industry, and are urged by the necessity of living at the expense of others. All the inhabitants are traders or brokers; all these traders, the Greeks like the rest, aspire to nothing but to make the pay of the soldiers pass into their own purses, and behold in their deliverers only strangers by whom they may enrich themselves, or at least gain a few piastres. As to the French military men, they are melancholy and silent, a singular contrast with the notion entertained in France of the happiness which it is to live under the beautiful sky of Greece. The letters they receive are full of congratulations and expressions of envy at their lot. Their answers would, doubtless, be very curious to read; they must be full of grievances, of regrets, and all of the words in our language which express melancholy,

this master-piece of epic poetry, as they state, is the work of several authors, we must admit that all these authors had visited the scene of these events, that they had all seen the same things in the same manner; for in every part of the poem there is the same local colouring, the same sky, the same nature, the same aspect of the country. So perfect an agreement between several different poets would be almost a miracle. I have not sufficient books with me to discuss to the bottom such a question; but on my return to France, I am desirous to occupy myself seriously with it, if jealous politics will still permit us to employ ourselves with literature. As a return for all the pleasures which Homer has given me, how delightful it would be to give him back his name, and to make my voice heard in favour of the divine poet whom they would despoil of his glory!'

We will engage, when it appears, to pay due attention to M. Michaud's vindication of Homer, even at the peril of reviving the aforesaid formidable controversy. Unfortunately, this controversy betrays so much discrepancy in the views of those who have traced the local scenery of Homer in the Troad, as in great degree to neutralize the value of their testimony to his truth and exactness. Though all agree in the exquisite truth of Homer's local descriptions, they are so prone to dispute the site of every particular scene—the fig-tree, the Scæan gate, the course of the Simois and of the Scamander, and even the 'whereabouts' of Troy itself—that we are tempted to doubt whether it is not the perfect fidelity of the poet to the truth of general nature which enables the imaginative reader to find the scene of his descriptions wherever he is disposed to seek it.

The local magnificence and the external appearance of Constantinople may seem dangerous and almost forbidden ground, since the descriptions of Gibbon and the author of 'Anastasius.' Byron's fine sketch of the Dardanelles, with its light and graceful shipping, (in his controversy with Bowles,) equally sets at defiance the host of modern travellers, who would re-touch his inimitable picture. Yet the following observations place even the view of Constantinople in rather a new light:—

'That which strikes European travellers the most, when they arrive at Constantinople, is the oriental character of the city; a character which it received from its Mahometan population, transplanted from Asia, with their customs, their industry, and even their architecture. Take away from the city of Stamboul that which proclaims the presence and the dominion of the Turks—take away its three hundred mosques, its vast cemeteries shadowed with cypresses—there will still remain its port, its two seas, its enchanting situation; but the view of this great city will have lost all which to us looks picturesque and original. The principal mosques of the Osmanli capital have been often described; nothing has been neglected to make us acquainted with the form and the construction of these religious edifices, but it appears

dressed as in former times. A reform in the costumes has begun, and day after day the Turks are abandoning the prejudices which relate to their dress. The turban has lost its glory; it is scarcely remembered that there were sixty different ways of wearing it. The Ulemas, who have remained faithful to the turban, have reduced it to a simple shawl wound round the head. The common head-dress is a red cap with a tassel (pompon) of blue silk. An assemblage of Turks, with their red, yellow, and white turbans, used to be compared to a border of tulips; they are now only like a field of corn-flowers and wild poppies. The slippers and yellow boots have been replaced by Frank boots and shoes; instead of their long robe, the Turks wear a frock coat with buttons, like a polonaise; those who belong to the army have a narrow vest, with a clasp in front, pantaloons which tighten as they come down to the bottom of the leg; and over this dress a blue or scarlet mantle. The official regulations of costume have indeed respected the beard, and all which relates to the hair—yet even the beard has undergone a revolution; the military and the young Effendis now hardly ever wear it. It is right to fix the date of this revolution in Mussulman costume; in a short time the change will be more complete, and travellers who arrive after us will find in Stamboul only the dresses of the Franks.'

The Ottoman diplomatists now in London are indeed, as far as regards external things, very poor representatives of those who used to delight our eyes. Their head-dress is really a hideous red night-cap—their frocks appear to be caricatures of their Russian friends' undress uniform;—and what is worst, the new garb reveals what the old one hid effectually—*viz.* that, as compared with ourselves, the Turks of this day are rather a puny race of men! But the dress of the ladies (there is still some hope and consolation in these revolutionary proceedings) as yet has undergone no reform. The long feredge, of every colour in the rainbow, still conceals their forms; the slippers and yellow boots refuse to betray the shape of their legs and feet. They are still closely wrapped up from the eyes of the profane, 'and the eternal muslin veil shrouds all but their eyes and pencilled eyebrows.'. . . 'History,' says M. Michaud, 'will not fail to preserve the curious fact, that a great revolution in dress has taken place in the East with which the female sex has had no concern. If reform shall at length invade the female attire, what will be the effect of such a change on the manners of the country?'

Seriously speaking, to what can all this lead?—are these the superficial symptoms of a more important change, slowly working its way into the Turkish character? Will European intelligence, industry, activity, follow the adoption of European dress and habits? It is not merely the Koran, but something of the ancient nomadic character of the Turcoman tribes, which seems, notwithstanding

becoming an European power—its own provinces growing up into independent kingdoms—the fate of Turkey is a most curious problem to the speculative historian,—to the statesman a subject of profound and anxious interest.

To both the historian and statesman the Correspondence of M. Michaud may be recommended: if by no means the work of a very deep political thinker, it is that of a man of acute observation and intelligence, who has endeavoured to mingle, as far as he might, with all classes, and to ascertain the general sentiments of the different races as to the present state of Turkey, and the workings of Sultan Mahmoud's reforms. Of the first act of these reforms, the destruction of the Janissaries, we have already had several accounts, apparently well worthy of confidence. That of M. Michaud gives few new details, but his comparison between a Turkish and a French revolution is sufficiently lively and amusing to justify another extract:—

'All the revolutions in the world have a certain resemblance: I only remark in that of the Turks what is new to us. That which struck me most in all that was told me, is the silence which prevails in the midst of the greatest agitations. Among the Turks, disturbance in the minds of the people is often carried to a great height without the country appearing in the least agitated; in our cities in France factions can do nothing without noise—the chariot of revolution only rolls in the midst of popular clamours. Here anger has no desire to show itself, it feels no necessity to spread itself abroad to satisfy its impulse. With us the madness inflames itself by its own harangues, and seems to fear that it will go out, if it does not stir itself up by imprecations and menaces. The Turks, whom I will call, if you please, the revolutionists of barbarism, have been seen to murder each other, to pillage, to burn a whole quarter of the city, without a single complaint or menace being heard, without the utterance of a single word; a real phenomenon which would astonish our civilized revolutionists. The capital of the Osmanlis never heard the drum beating to arms at the instant of a sedition or an insurrection; I need not tell you that it has never heard the tocsin or bells; only some public criers pass through the streets, and proclaim the intentions or demands of the government or the multitude, at the peril of being strangled by the discontented or by those of the opposite faction. To make a revolution in Paris, we must have tribunes and orators, journals, pamphlets, elections; all this would make too much noise, and would be only waste of time to the Turks. Some inhabitants of Pera, who, during the mutiny of the 16th June, had pointed their telescopes towards the palace of the Grand Vizier, thought they saw some furniture thrown out of the window; they knew then that there was a revolution at Stamboul; they were more sure of it later in the day, by the noise of the cannon, which sounded towards the barracks of the Janissaries. The next day, they might know more from the sight of houses burnt down,

Mahometanism, engaged in long and implacable wars against the Christians. Those maxims of the Koran, which inculcate hatred of infidels, were thus mingled up with all their feelings. This repugnance to every thing Christian is still the first principle of their character; and what adds to the rapidity of their decline is, that they are themselves entirely unconscious of it. They suppose themselves the same people that they were under Bajazet Ilderim (the Lightning), or Solyman the Magnificent. The Ulémas, he added, are not so generally opposed to change; they are, in fact, in awe of the multitude. Though the sultan might not dare to strangle them, they would not be safe from being massacred by the mob during an insurrection. The Naïb seemed to intimate that his own *liberal* opinions exposed him to such danger, and expressed himself in the following pretty apologue, which we cite for the amusement of our *liberal* friends:—

'There was once a country where every body was deprived of his eyesight; that, however, did not prevent every body from forming some notion of the world which he could not see. It happened that, among this blind people, some men were born with two eyes in their foreheads, like the generality of the sons of Adam. They spoke of the spectacle which presented itself to their eyes, but no one understood them; they spoke with enthusiasm of the lamp which enlightened the world, and the stars which shone in the vault of heaven. At first they were taken for madmen;—they were by and by suspected of sacrilegiously censuring the works of God, and conspiring against the laws of nature;—at length they were declared to be disturbers of social order, impious innovators, who must be instantly exterminated.'

On the return of our travellers to Asia Minor, M. Poujoulat was employed in some interesting researches, in order to trace the line of march of the different armies of the crusaders, particularly those of Frederick Barbarossa, and Louis VII. of France, through that region. We have not, at present, time to follow out these details, or to compare them with the conclusions of the great rival historian of the crusades, the German, Wilken. M. Michaud, and his colleague, appear to have no knowledge of the labours of their very able and learned competitor in this field of research. But, like the crusaders, we are eager to reach Palestine, and pass at once to the information which we obtain concerning that land of inexhaustible interest.

Palestine yet wants a traveller. This is a bold assertion, considering the volumes which almost annually crowd forth, descriptive of the present aspect of the Holy Land: we mean, however, a traveller qualified by his previous studies to elucidate *all* the different periods in the eventful history of that country.

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joulat. The age and the health of M. Michaud seem to have induced him to abandon the more laborious and adventurous excursions from Jerusalem: he took, therefore, the safer and more easy province of Egypt; and while his companion was riding, probably on no very easy seat, through rough and desert countries, amid wild and lawless Arabs, he was gliding in his boat along the quiet waters of the Nile, under the protection of Mahommed Ali's police. On the usual objects of interest, the sacred places hallowed by the footsteps of the Redeemer, neither of our authors can be said to offer any thing very new or original, but in M. Poujoulat's letters are some curious circumstances connected with the state of the Christian inhabitants, and the religious ceremonial of the different sects. Alas! the very stone which is supposed to cover the tomb of Him who revealed the religion of love and charity is fiercely contested by opposing sects. The indifferent, or rather the venal impartiality of the Mahometans has deprived the Latin Christians of the exclusive possession of the Holy Sepulchre, and the privilege of lighting the lamps for divine service; they are compelled to share it with the Armenians and Greeks. One of the Fathers of the Latin convent—(unappropriately named the Père Placide)—in bitterness of spirit showed M. Michaud the seal of the Turks, which divided the stone into three equal compartments.

'The most singular thing is the manner in which the Mussulmen recognise, in such cases, the right of property. If they have seen any one sweep a chapel or any part of a church, that chapel or that place belongs to him whom they have seen with a broom in his hand. You will perhaps be astonished at this distributive justice of the Mahometans; it must be explained by what is practised at Medina, at the tomb of Mahomet; forty black men are every day occupied in rubbing, cleaning, and sweeping the inclosure in which are deposited the ashes of the Prophet; hence they have the name of ferrash (broom-men). This is an office of high consideration among Mussulmen; there are aspirants to this function of broom-men, and honorary broom-men are named by the Sultan of Stamboul, whom his highness usually chooses among his favourites, and the principal personages of the court.'

The adventurer Ali Bey, we remember, notices this part of the Mahometan ceremonial; the Sultan Scheref set him the example; 'he was then presented with a bundle of small brooms, and, after some water had been thrown on the floor, he began his duty, by sweeping with both hands, with an ardent faith, though the floor was quite clean, and polished like glass.' M. Michaud endeavoured, in a very rational manner, to mediate between the conflicting parties. He recommended that, instead of dividing the stone in so strange and irreverent a manner, they should divide

 the

kings had been spared by the fire, and that they were destroyed by the Greeks themselves in the midst of the confusion of the conflagration! The tombs of the two kings were as it were the Palladium of the Latin monks; they were the glorious title-deeds of the monasteries of the Holy Land; and the Greeks, the enemies of the Latin convent, wished to get rid of these monuments. At present two stone benches covered with a mat fill the place of the two tombs: the ashes of Godfrey and Baldwin, mingled with the ashes and the rubbish of the fire, profaned and cast to the winds, are lost from the soil of Palestine; and these two mighty spirits, banished from the temple which they conquered with their swords, have their only refuge, their last monument, in your history!'

M. Michaud no doubt acknowledged the last sentence with one of the graceful bows which distinguished the *ancien régime.* We presume that M. Poujoulat's eye-witnesses were some of the Latin fathers, and that we have to choose between some inclination to uncharitable mendacity, or at least misrepresentation, on their part, and this act of wanton and detestable malice on that of the Greeks. It is curious and melancholy enough to see the implacable resentment, which grew up with the first crusade between the Greek and Latin Churches, perpetuated in their latest descendants. The church, however, was not quite destroyed; the parts which escaped were those behind the choir, the Lady's Chapel, the altar of Dividing the Garments, the altar of the Improperium, the two sanctuaries of St. Helena and the Discovery of the Cross; all this part of the temple remains as in the days of Godfrey. The restoration of the church, according to M. Poujoulat, though it has exactly followed the ancient plan, has been executed with wretched taste. He complains of the profaneness, yet acknowledges the truth, of an English traveller's comparison of it to a modern French theatre.

M. Poujoulat laments that, in the West, the days of religious pilgrimage are past; and as to his own country, we confess we do not at present see any signs of the revival of that sort of feeling from which such expeditions used to proceed. When it was proposed to Buonaparte to advance upon the Holy City, he replied, 'Jerusalem does not come within my line of operations.' But if the facilities of steam-navigation are increased, as appears likely, in the Mediterranean, we should not in the least be surprised to hear of a regular summer excursion of Hadjis from our own shores. The taste for travel, the love of the picturesque, will mingle up, as did the old chivalrous love of war and adventure, with religious excitement. It is quite within probability that the Joppa steamer may start regularly from the Tower Stairs. We must confess that we should ourselves be strongly tempted by such an announcement, however the old poetic and romantic charm might

might be disturbed by the chimney, trailing its heavy line of smoke and the thoroughly utilitarian air of the conveyance.

In the East, the passion for pilgrimage has never been extinct. The following lively description carries us back to the long gone by for Europe:—

"The pilgrims arrive in the months of January and February, at the beginning of March at the latest; they depart after the celebration of the Paschal festivals. It was at this time likewise that in former days the pilgrims of the West were wont to repair to Jerusalem. I see pilgrims of all the Christian nations of the East, Greeks, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Copts; all those sects which, where the Gospel have their meeting here. Many Jews are likewise assembled, and even Turkish pilgrims; for Jerusalem in the eyes of a Mussulman also is a holy city. All these pilgrims of the East arrive in troops. The Christian caravans march by the order and under the command of a captain, like the cranes and storks when they pass away to other climates. They march with provisions for the journey, with vessels and utensils for cookery suspended from the sides of their camels or mules. There are entire families, followed by all their domestic equipage, reckoning for nothing a journey of several hundred leagues, marching from morning to evening, sometimes under the rain, sometimes under the burning sun, passing the night without shelter, and when their provisions are exhausted, living on what they can find, like the birds of the air. Not only robust men impose upon themselves these fatigues and privations, but feeble old men, who are unwilling to die without having seen Jerusalem, women and young children destined for a more peaceful and easy life, children scarcely escaped from the cradle, who serve an apprenticeship in the sufferings of life on the road to that city where their God suffered and died. Although the pious band does not venture to be without arms, it sometimes falls into the plundering hands of the Bedouins; and then what tears! what [illegible]

Catholics! However strange some part of the ceremonial—however the imposing religious drama of the Holy Week may, in some respects, offend the colder and less imaginative devotion of northern Protestants—however ignorant or superstitious the monks who celebrate the mysteries of the Holy Week—in such a place, among oriental costumes, which carry the mind back to the days of old—it must be impossible for any Christian mind to remain unmoved in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. *There* the representation of all the events of our Saviour's closing life, be it executed with greater or less solemnity of effect, must come home to every heart which has been once touched by the beauty of the Gospel. M. Poujoulat seems to have entered into the whole with the faith and feeling of a devout Catholic; the following passage struck us very much. It appears that the whole host of worshippers pass the night preceding Good Friday in the church.

'*Holy Thursday, Midnight.*

'I write to you at this moment by the light of the torches of the Holy Sepulchre; I have never in my life passed an hour more serious and solemn than the present. To me a night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could not but be a night without sleep. I pass from chapel to chapel, from altar to altar; I go from the sepulchre to the Calvary, from the Calvary to the prison of Christ, from the prison of Christ to his sepulchre, and the sound of my feet alone disturbs the silence of the church. The Mahometan guard are asleep upon their bench (*estrade*) near the gate of the Temple; all the Christians, shut within the church, are reposing in the deepest slumber; some are lying upon benches or chests, others on the steps of the altars, others upon mats or carpets in the middle of the great nave; the chapel of the Magdalene is full of women, stretched out upon mats, wrapped in their long white veils, or clad in a simple *caleçon;* infants at the breast are sleeping upon the bosom of their mothers; each retains the attitude in which sleep has surprised him; the whole forms the strangest sight possible. All the monks sleep in their convent of the Holy Sepulchre, except two who are prostrate at the foot of the divine eucharist in the sepulchre. This is the first time that I have ever found myself in the Church of the Resurrection without hearing any noise; it is only during the hours of the night that prayer can hope to be undisturbed at the foot of the Holy Sepulchre. As I walk along the Temple in the midst of darkness, crossed here and there by the feeble and trembling gleam of a few lamps, in solitude, and yielded up to religious meditation, I sometimes stop as though listening to unknown voices which seem to address me: my knees bow as though the spirit of God breathed upon me; and standing in the shade between Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, I experience a sensation which approaches to terror.' *

M. Poujoulat

* We take this opportunity of saying that the Panorama of Jerusalem, now open in Leicester-fields, will richly reward the trouble of a visit. We do not say this without

[illegible]

which there was ample space for the concealment of David and his four hundred followers—but more particularly of the desert of St. Sabba. This sterile tract cannot have been far distant from the settlements of the ancient Essenes, which it would be curious to trace. But not even their monastic industry could have forced that savage wilderness into fertility.

'Follow me now into the most dismal desert that the eye of traveller has ever witnessed, the desert of St. Sabba, on the south-east of Bethlehem, at the distance of four leagues. To arrive at the Greek monastery of St. Sabba, it is necessary to pass yellow and bald mountains, which one might suppose hills of sand, an arid soil, which produces (*enfante*) nothing but stones; an accursed soil, where life is extinct, and the birds of heaven cannot discover a blade of grass; a region forgotten by men, and which God himself seems to remember no more. The black tents of the Bedouins,at a distance like mourning garments spread over a desolated land,add to the sadness of the place. In such a solitude, a solitude without a flower, without verdure, without water, the mind seems overwhelmed; it seems as if death was striking you with his cold wings.'

On the skirt of this wilderness is the convent of St. Sabba. Among the pale inhabitants of this melancholy, though rather splendid convent, were five Russians. One of these was anxious to hear some news about his country, and put many questions to M. Poujoulat on the politics of Europe. He might have answered the Muscovite caloyer in the words of M. Chateaubriand, on a similar occasion, to a monk of the same monastery, 'Alas, father! where will you look for peace, if you do not find it here?' M. Poujoulat was accompanied by an honest friar of the convent of St. Saviour in Jerusalem. Brother Antony's charitable compassion for the anchorites of St. Sabba is characteristic enough:—

'*Signor mio!* since you have brought me to the monastery of St. Sabba, inhabited by seventeen schismatic Greeks, devoted to penitence and the severest austerities, one thought saddens and oppresses my heart—and that is, that such maceration and so great sacrifices should be all lost to these unhappy schismatics, for, notwithstanding all, it is impossible that they should get to heaven!'

Ascalon and Gaza threw back M. Poujoulat among his more stirring associations with the knights of the Crusades, but he sometimes reverts to modern times. The following anecdote of Buonaparte is new to us, and does credit to his heart. M. Poujoulat was hospitably received by the Arab sheik of Ibna:—

'This sheik,' says the traveller, 'related to me that Buonaparte, on his march from Gaza to Joppa, ordered the sheik of the village to furnish a hundred head of cattle, a hundred loads of corn, and a hundred measures of meal. The sheik, compelled to obey, humbly delivered what the French general demanded. Already the knife was lifted over

[illegible] to his answer, [illegible] so little meaning,

[illegible] Mussulman [illegible] "to comprehend [illegible] that the [illegible] in the [illegible] depth [illegible] of the [illegible]. It is the [illegible] one in power; it [illegible] it submits to [illegible] [illegible] 'Though but a young [illegible] the wisdom of age!'"

[illegible] dread of the plague, [illegible] and Samara. To [illegible] by M. Gallot de Kerallain [illegible] country of Galilee [illegible] curious particulars of the [illegible] unchanged, it should

order that the localities of the scene may be better understood. Saladin had taken Tiberias; but the citadel in which the wife of the Count of Tripoli had shut herself up still resisted, in the expectation of succour. This citadel, to the left of Tiberias, on a round hill which commands the shores, now serves for the Seraglio of the Mutselim. The Christian army, which set out in the morning from the fountain of Sepphoris, suddenly appeared in the plain between Loubi and Hittim; Guy of Lusignan, who knew the encampment of Saladin on the shores of the lake, wished not to give battle, but to encamp at Hittim, on account of its fountain; if the Christian army had succeeded in seizing that position, Saladin would have been in a critical situation. The Sultan was not ignorant of this; therefore, on the approach of the king of Jerusalem he also broke up his camp, in order to take up his position at Hittim, and to occupy the heights called the *Two Horns of Hittim.* Master of the fountain, he awaited the Crusaders, who had to traverse a country without water; the Franks, anticipated by the Mahometans, and thus forced to encamp in a dry place, halted in the plain. The two armies were drawn up front to front all the night between Friday and Saturday. Saladin watched in his tent; on the break of day, when the sun had risen above the lake, the Saracens were ready for battle. The Franks, who suffered from want of water, (for they were still at a distance from the lake and the fountain,) prepared for the battle; it was heard said among them, "To-morrow we must find water with our swords."

'Saturday the 14th July, 1187, the Franks, in their desperation, made a furious attack on the Mussulmen. As the battle took place in the territory of the Count of Tripoli, it was he who, according to feudal custom, commenced the onset. The slaughter became horrible; Saladin was everywhere. The Count of Tripoli, whom the Chroniclers have made a traitor, though he was only a skilful politician, having dashed at the left of the enemy, opened himself a way to the valley of Hittim. Guy of Lusignan remained alone with the centre of the Christian army, the right wing having fled. But before the engagement of the two armies, a conflagration had been kindled on the right of the Franks, to the south-east; the Mahometans had set fire to the harvest; clouds of smoke and flames running under the feet of the horses, aggravated the dismal situation of the Crusaders, surrounded on all sides by their enemies and by the conflagration. Blood flowed in streams, mingling itself with the pure water of the Fountain of the Five Loaves, which, like that of Hittim, was in the power of the Saracens. The only Christian body of troops which remained engaged with the enemy, took by assault the *Mountain of the Beatitudes;* there the Templars, the Hospitallers, and other knights, rallied round the king; the combat was awful; the Bishop of St. Jean d'Acre *lifted the true Cross as a standard, in the very place where Christ, showing himself to the multitude, said to them, Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.* The true Cross fell into the hands of the Mussulmen; the bishop was slain. King Guy had not more

ment, upon a performance of this description. Mr. Coleridge, however, has laid it down that every man of humour is more or less a man of genius,—and, whether that be or be not so, few will dispute that all really effective humour must be bottomed upon a substratum of strong good sense. If, therefore, our readers derive any solid aliment for their minds from the extracts which we are about to submit, we shall be well pleased; but the primary object with us is to illustrate the merits of the author as a humourist, and more especially to call attention to what we think by far the most amusing, as it must be allowed to be the most authentic, specimen that has as yet reached Europe, of the actual colloquial dialect of the Northern States. It will be manifest that the representations of this gibberish, for which Mr. Mathews, Mrs. Trollope, and other strangers have been so severely handled by the American critics, were, in fact, chargeable with few sins except those of omission. The most astounding and incredible of their Americanisms occur, *passim*, in the work of Major Downing; but it is as obvious that the wealth and prodigal luxury of his vocabulary put the poverty of theirs to shame, as that he applies the particular flowers and gems of republican rhetoric which had caught their fancy, with a native ease and felicity altogether beyond the reach of any superficial and transitory admirer not 'to the manner born.'

The French author, whose *Tableau des Mœurs Américaines* has already edified our readers, says, at p. 351 of his first volume,—

'The rivalry which exists between the English and the Americans is not solely that of commerce and industry. The two nations have a common language, and each asserts that it is better spoken on her side of the Atlantic than on the other. I believe they are both in the right. In England, the superior classes possess a delicacy of language which is unknown in America, except in a small number of *salons*, which can at best make an exception: but in the United States, where there is neither a really upper class, nor a positively low one, the entire population speak English less purely indeed than the aristocracy of England, but as well as her middle orders, and infinitely better than her populace.'

We shall see: in the meanwhile, another author, already reviewed in this Number, may save us some trouble in supplying a fit preface to our extracts from the classic of Downingville:—

'The interest of these letters lies partly in the simple and blunt, yet forcible, and not unfrequently convincing manner, with which certain intricate questions, of much importance to the nation, are treated in them; partly in the peculiar compound of the bluntness and shrewdness of a country Yankee, being personified in Major Jack Downing, the pretended author of the Letters; partly, also, in the impudence of the real author, who, *sans façon*, makes the Major tell long stories of what

[illegible] and the president, in [illegible] and other [illegible] [illegible] in the singular [illegible] the author [illegible] with his views and arguments, as Jack Downing [illegible] the party of the president, while the real author is [illegible] that party which thinks that the president has wantonly [illegible] the constitution, as Napoleon said of Dupont's defeat [illegible] "It is [illegible] 'treason.' . . . . . They will be a curiosity to philologist some hundred years hence, when the true Yankee idiom will have given way, as all provincial languages in time [illegible] and in fact they are now of interest to the student, unacquainted with the peculiar expressions of New England,—and a little glossary will be attached to them when they are collected together.—*Democratic Review*, vol. 5, pp. 253-255.

This hint has not been taken by the editor of the copy now before us, so we must make the best we can of the Major's slight idiom. The beauty that constantly occurs at first puzzled us,—but in the book called "New England by one of her Sons," we have found "kind of" used in the same fashion with the "doubt" of Downing; the other odd phrases of most frequent occurrence, such as "shingoed," "cut of reason," &c. seem to be derived either from the life of the wood-clearing farmer, or from the stunted experience of the Yankee in general.

In the Preface, the Major modestly says of himself,—

"I wish I had gone to school a leetle more when I was a boy—I think my letters now would make folks crawl all over; but if I had been to school all my lifetime, I know I never could be able to write more honestly than I have. I am sometimes puzzled most plagurily to git ready to tell just exactly what I think, and what I know; and when I git 'em, I don't know exactly how to spell 'em—but so long as I git

people put scamps in office, jest because they are party-men, things will go on worse and worse, and there won't be no laws but jest such laws as will keep these very scamps in their offices.'—Ibid., p. 5.

In June, 1833, the Major accompanies General Jackson in a grand progress through New England, beating up in all quarters for recruits to help the worthy President in the approaching campaign against THE Bank. The visit to the author's own dear native Downingville is described with special gusto and emphasis:

'I went full drive down to the meetin-house, and got hold of the rope, and pull'd away like smoke, and made the old bell turn clean over. The folks come up thick enough then to see what was to pay, and filled the old tabernacle chock full, and there was more outside than you could count. "Now," says I, "I spose you think there's going to be preaching here to-day, but that is not the business. The Gineral is comin." That was enough—"Now," says I, "be spry. I tell'd the Gineral last winter he'd see nothing till he got down here, and if we don't make him stare then there's no snakes.—[*Subintellige* "in Virginia."] Where's Captain Finny?" says I. "Here I be," says he; and there he was, sure enough: the crittur had just come out of his bush-pasture, and had his bush-hook with him. Says I, "Captain Finny, you are to be the marshal of the day." Upon that he jumps right on eend. "Now," says I, "where is Seth Sprague, the schoolmaster?" "Here I be," says he; and there he stood with his pitch-pipe up in the gallery, just as if I was going to give out the salm for him. "You just pocket your pitch-pipe," says I, "Seth, and brush up your larnin, for we have pitched on you to write the address." —"Why, Major," says Zekiel Bigelow, "I thought I was to do that, and I've got one already." "But," says I, "you don't know nothing about Latin; the Gineral can't stomack anything now without it's got Latin in it, ever since they made a Doctor on him down there to Cambridge t'other day; but howsever," says I, "you shall give the address after all, only just let Seth stick a little Hog-Latin into it here and there. And now," says I, "all on you be spry, and don't stop stirrin till the pudden's done." Then they begun to hunt for hats, and down the gallery-stairs they went. And if ther'd been forty thanksgivens and independence days comin in a string, I don't believe there could be more racket than there was in Downingville that afternoon and night.

'By ten o'clock next morning all was ready. I had 'em all stationed, and I went out and come back three or four times across the brook by the potash, to try 'em. I got a white hat on, and shag-bark stick, put some flour on my head, and got on to my sorrel horse, and looked just as much like the old gentleman as I could. Arter tryin them two or three times I got 'em all as limber as a withe, and the last time I tried 'em you've no idee, it went off just as slick as ile.

'"Now," says I, "tenshion the hull! Stand at ease till you see me agin;" and then I streaked it down to old Miss Crane's tavern,

vern, about two miles off, and waited till the Gineral come along; and afore I had mixed a second glass of switchel up they came, and the Gineral looked as chirk and frely as a skipper. "Now," says I, "Gineral, we are going right into Downingville, and no man here is to give any orders but myself," and I said this loud enough for Mr. Van Buren and Governor Woodbury and all on 'em to hear me, and they were all as hush arter that as cows in a clover-lot. Then we all mounted and on we went—I and the Gineral a leetle a-head on 'em.

'Jist as we got on the nole on tother side the brook, we come in sight of Downingville. The Gineral riz right up in his stirrups, and pointed with his hickory, and says he, "Major, that's Downingville." Says I, "That's true enuf, and I should like to hear any one say it a'nt," says I, "for the sight on't makes me crawl all over, and whenever I hear any one say one word agin it, I feel as tho' I could take him, as I have done streaked snakes, by the tail, and snap his head off." "Why," says the Gineral, "I knew that was Downingville as soon as my eye caught a glimpse on't. I'd go," says he, "Major, east of sun-rise any day to see sich a place." The Gineral was tickled to pieces, and I thought I should go myself right through my shirt-collar—for, you see, the Gineral never see sich a sight afore. Seth Sprague had put the children all on the school-house—you couldn't see an atom of the roof—with green boughs, and singing a set piece he had made; and when I and the Gineral passed by they made it all ring agin, I tell you; whether it was his facing the sun or what, but he looked as if he was e'eny jist a going to cry (for he is a mazin tender-hearted crittur). Jist then Sargent Joel, who had charge of the field-piece in front of the meetin-hous, touched her off; and didn't she speak! This composed the Gineral in a minute—says he, "Major, I shouldn't want nothing better than a dozen of them guns to change the boundary-line along here jest to suit you."—pp. 18—22.

a-head on him on that tack; for he is the perlitest cretur amongst the women you ever see.

'Arter the quiltin, they cleared away the kiverlids and knock'd up a dance. The Gineral led off the old deacon's darter, and afore he got half down he began to smoke; so he off coat and at it agin, and went clean through.'

Some jealousies now began to peep out among the party; and we could, but for the Major's dialect, almost suppose ourselves reading one of my Lord Brougham's despatches from 'the north countrie' to his friends and admirers of last autumn in Windsor Castle.

'We had all been drinking putty considerable of switchel, and cider, and egg-pop, with a little New England in it, and felt good-natur'd and wrathy just as it turn'd up, and come plaguy nigh having a fight right off. However, I thought I wouldn't spile sport, seein I was to hum, and they all strangers.'

The good-natured officer accordingly did his best to prevent an open explosion on this interesting occasion; and a candid bystander is obliged to admit—

'He's a master crittur to put things to rights; and when we all got in that plaguy snarl there, he cut and shuffled them up, and afore we could say *Jack Robinson*, all the troublesome fellers were shuffled out. He's a master hand at it, sure enuff.'

The end of the scene, too, has some touches of the Caledonian atmosphere;—

'As there was an eend of the dance, all the galls off shoes and stockins, and went hum, caze it was kinder muddy; and we all went to the tavern, and the Gineral went to bed. We all then began to plan for the next day, but some of the folks was plaguy crusty. Seth Sprague wanted to show his school-house; Zekil Bigelow wanted all on us to go to his packin-yard; and the deacon said he would like to show us his fullin-mill, and give a kinder thanksgivin; but nothin seemed to go right.'—pp. 29—32.

The prevailing annoyance of the government tourists arose, as we may easily fancy, from the difficulty of pleasing all these provincial doctors and professors of useful knowledge. It was, therefore, a great relief when they made shift, on one occasion, to get a steam-boat all to themselves:—

'We have a fine cool time here, and ain't bothered with seekers; we can see e'm in droves all along shore, waitin for a chance. One fellow swam off last night to get appointed to some office—the Gineral thinks of making him minister to the King of the Sandwich Islands, on account of their being all good swimmers there.'

On the whole, however, the general and his aide-de-camp seem to have returned in very good spirits to Washington. The bothera-

 tion

most no shirt—and they too wanted to know about the bank. I never see sich a mess of fellers as they have here all the while: there is all kind of critters, jamming and scrouging folks, and one another; they don't seem to do nothin, and half on 'em think, when we come to nock the bank down, *they are to git the mony.*'

They did not get the money when the bank was knocked down; and forthwith we hear not a little, from both Gineral and Major, about 'the pressure from without'—but still 'the government' kept up their spirits.

'It was nigh upon midnight when I got to the White House, and the Gineral was abed; and as I knew he wanted to see me dreadfully, I went right into his room and woke him up. "Why," says he, "Major, is that raly you?—for I have been dreamin about you. I'm glad you are back agin, for things are gittin putty stormy here; *so do you come to bed*, and we'll talk about it." As soon as I got alongside the Gineral—"There now," says he, "Major, I don't care for all the rest of the Government, except Mr. Van Buren; and if we three ain't a match for all creation, I'm mistaken.'

A good deal of annoyance now springs from certain untimely scruples of Mr. Van Buren, described as an ancient rat of at least three tails,* who had been, it seems, a strenuous supporter of the bank overthrow, but, on second thoughts, began to insinuate that the thing had been carried too far; and that, at all events, no more experiments of the same sort ought to be dreamt of—in short, that 'it would not do to have a new revolution every year;'—

'One day when I was busy doin up *some writin for the Gineral*, he was called out, and had a long talk with Mr. Van Buren and some more on 'em; and when he came back, says he, "Major, I wish you and I was at the Hermitage." † "Why," says I, "how so, Gineral?" "Well, I don't know exactly why," says he, "but I don't see," says he, "what use there is in my bein here, for things are gittin now so mixed up, that I can't tell exactly what is best to do! Do you know, Major," says he, "that Mr. Van Buren says he don't think it was right to move the deposits." "Why, how you talk!" says I, "didn't he advise it?" "Well, so I thought," says the Gineral; "but he says it would be best only to hold it up by the tail, as you do a fox, and keep all the dogs barking for it; for as soon as you throw the fox in the crowd, a few old jowlers grab hold, and the rest don't git a mouthful; and then comes

* 'Mr. Van Buren would stand a good chance in a race, when a good many are runnin, and if the ground is muddy and slippery; for he is a master hand at trippin folks. But I'm afraid he'd stand a slim chance over a clear field. And it ain't fair to make him run so. Any man can catch a rat in a strait race, because he ain't used to it; but give him a few old barrels and logs to dodge round, then, I tell you, it's pretty tuff work.'—p. 112.

† This is General Jackson's country-seat, at which he had made great improvements since he came into office.

 trouble."

creation; and they git the most on't who are the most industrious and cute in inventin things. He says that paper mony is jest as good, and a leetle better than hard mony, if folks don't shell out too much on't: and the natur of paper-mony makers is always to git off as much as they can, and if it warn't for somethin to check it, it would be as bad as old continental times.

'He says, there is two ways to make mony scarce—one is by sendin hard mony away out of the country, to pay for notions we can't pay for any other way; and the other is, by sending Amos Kindle round tellin folks "The Government" is goin to do something, folks don't know exactly what, nor he nuther. Then ev'rybody grabs all he can git, and holds on; and things are jest as bad as if there wasn't "no money:" and then the brokers go at it, and lather and shave;—says they, "can only give you a little"—"hard times"—the fellows figer interest for an hour as easy as nothin, and jest so with the pottecarys—only tell the folks kolery is comin, and they go at it mixin paragoric and kamfire, and chalk it up like gold dust. Zekel says on the hull, that mony matters, and banks, and trade, is all as curious as one of Bissel's clocks; and folks hadn't ought to meddle in regelatin or alterin on't, without knowin all about it. "And now," says he, "Major, I'm a good mind to spile my watch, to show you my notion why I think trouble will come if the Gineral nocks down the U. S. bank." Zekel is one of them 'ere folks, and always was, who would spile a horn, or make a spoon; and with that he out with his old watch, as big as a tea-cup, wound her up, and then clapt her to my ear. "She is as true," says he, "as the tides." He then opened it—"Now," says he, "Major, do you see that 'ere chain pullin all the while? and then do you see a lot of leetle wheels, and springs, and screws? And here on top is a big wheel, that's all the while goin round one way, and back agin, and jest so fast and no faster—that's the clicker," says he, "and if it warn't for that, you'd see trouble in it, and I'll show you—but I know it will all go to bits"—and so he twitched out the big wheel, and the old watch did whiz, I tell you. Some of them leetle wheels went so fast, you couldn't see nothin. One keel'd up, and another got some teeth nock'd out—she stopp'd a spell, then a spring snapp'd, and whiz it went agin, and the splinters flew, and by-and-by it all stopp'd; and Zekel gin his kew another slicken—and says he, "Major, we've spil'd the old watch; but I don't value the loss on't, seeing you got a notion by it"—and with that he scraped it all together, and wrapp'd it up in the Washington Globe—"there," says he, "Major, send that to 'The Government,' and tell the Gineral there is more there than folks think on, who want to meddle with banks and mony matters; and to-morrow we'll go into Wall-street, and you'll see all I tell'd you is jest so"—and then we took a glass of switchel and went to bed.'

Into Wall-street they went accordingly; and then follows a most rich account of the conversation that there took place between Squire Biddle, the President of the United States' Bank, and the

fore, the improvements which the work exhibits in its new dress, we shall take occasion to comment on the matter of the latter part of the book, which has hitherto not been approached by us.

The appearance of this work will always form an epoch in the history of geology. Up to that time the doctrine which supposed an order of things to have anciently prevailed entirely different from the present—which assumed the causes of change, whether of a destroying or productive character, actually in progress on the surface of the globe, to be utterly inadequate to explain, scarcely even to illustrate, the earlier changes of which that surface exhibits such striking traces—the doctrine which referred all these latter phenomena to vaguely-imagined revolutions and convulsions, deluges or cataclysms (as they were styled), proper to the infancy of the globe, when

> 'Nature
> Wanton'd as in her prime, and played at will
> Her virgin fancies,'—

this doctrine held almost undisputed sway in the geological circles. The powerful arguments brought forward by Professor Playfair in support of the undiminished vigour of the natural causes still in operation, were slighted by many as the rhapsodies of a romance-writer, rather than the authorized speculations of a man of science. In our assumed ignorance of the order of things which prevailed in early geological periods, inquiries into *causes* were too often discountenanced, and, in short, the science of the history of the globe had shrunk into little else than a barren descriptive arrangement of the rocks which coat our planet, their superficial extent and relative superposition. Perhaps, however, this was the best thing that could have happened. The earlier geologists, in their ardour for explaining every thing, had neglected to make themselves sufficiently acquainted with the facts to be explained. It was well for the science, that for a time theory was *tabooed* by common consent, and the indefatigable labours of its votaries confined to the laying up a store of materials for some comprehensive mind to work upon at a later period. The foundation was in fact thus laid by Messrs. Greenough, MacCulloch, Buckland, Conybeare, and other active members of the Geological Society, for the building which Mr. Lyell, in a happy moment, undertook to raise. Thinking, apparently, that the ground had been sufficiently prepared for the purpose, and warmed by the descriptions brought from the continent by Scrope, Daubeny, and other writers, of the vast powers of destruction and reproduction now in activity among the volcanized districts of the south of Europe, and of those extinct volcanoes which offer the intervening link between the products of recent eruption and the trap-rocks of earlier ages, he applied himself

We are not, therefore, surprised that Mr. Lyell's book, by which this wide and pleasing, but till now almost untrodden, field was first opened to the public, should have been admitted to popular favour, and reproduced to satisfy the demand in a cheap and portable form. In this last edition the author has likewise introduced much new matter, availing himself of the result of his own later researches and of the progress which the science has generally made since the commencement of his publication. He has also profited by some of the suggestions and criticisms with which both friends and opponents have liberally supplied him, to modify some of his theories, and to strengthen the arguments adduced in support of others. The summary of the contents of the work given in this edition will prove useful as a guide to its readers, who might otherwise lose sight of the bearing and connexion of its general argument, while engaged in the examination of the many interesting discussions on controverted points, and curious descriptions of natural phenomena with which its pages abound. In the historical sketch of the progress of geological opinion which begins the book, some additional instances are adduced of the very remarkable sagacity with which the Arabian writers of the tenth century pointed out the leading causes of change in the structure of the earth, and the relative position of land and water. In a fragment of Avicenna, 'On the Cause of Mountains,' he ascribes the formation of some to 'violent earthquakes by which land is elevated,' and others to 'the excavating power of water, by which cavities are produced, and adjoining lands made to stand out and form eminences.' Mr. Lyell himself could scarcely express more concisely and correctly the modern theory of mountains to which we are again brought back after the lapse of eight centuries. So true is the sentiment expressed by the proverb, 'There is nothing new, but what has been forgotten.'

The Huttonian theory of the alternations of land and water on the same spot through the lapse of ages is curiously illustrated by the following beautiful allegory, extracted from a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, 'On the Wonders of Nature,' by an Arabian writer of the thirteenth century—

'I passed one day by a very ancient and wonderfully populous city, and asked one of its inhabitants how long it had been founded. "It is indeed a mighty city," replied he; "we know not how long it has existed, and our ancestors were on this subject as ignorant as ourselves." Five centuries afterwards, as I passed by the same place, I could not perceive the slightest vestige of the city. I demanded of a peasant who was gathering herbs upon its former site, how long it had been destroyed. "In sooth, a strange question!" replied he. "The ground here has never been different from what you now behold it."—"Was there not of old," said I, "a splendid city here?"—

"Never,"

beyond the arctic circle, where the whale and the narwhal now abound; and turtles might again deposit their eggs in the sand of the sea-beach where now the walrus sleeps, and where the seal is drifted along on floating fields of ice.'—(vol. i. p. 183.) It is easily proved, that by a repetition of an indefinite number of local revolutions due to volcanic and various other causes of change still operating on the earth's crust, a general change of climate even to this extent might be hereafter brought about, and therefore may reasonably be supposed to have already occurred, should the facts that come under obsevation lead to any such conclusion.

Mr. Lyell endeavours to show that the geographical features of the northern hemisphere at the period of the deposition of the coal strata were, in fact, such as must, according to this theory, have given rise to an extremely hot climate. The geological characters of the rocks of these latitudes—the subaqueous aspect of their igneous products—the nature of their organic remains—the basin-shaped disposition of the fragmentary rocks—the absence of large fluviatile and of land quadrupeds—the insular character of the flora—all concur with wonderful harmony to establish the fact of the former prevalence throughout the northern hemisphere of a great ocean interspersed with small isles—in short, of a physical geography such as is now to be seen in the Pacific, with its numerous submarine insular volcanoes, and archipelagoes of coral islands rising among reefs, not dissimilar in composition and structure from the compact limestone beds of North America and Europe, and greatly exceeding them in superficial extent. Subsequently to the deposition of the coal strata under these circumstances, there is satisfactory evidence in their disturbance and dislocation that, by reiterated subterranean convulsions, new lands from time to time emerged from the deep. The vegetation of the period during which the sedimentary formations, from the lias to the chalk inclusive (secondary rocks), were deposited, seems to have resembled that of the larger islands of the equatorial zone, as, for example, our West Indian archipelago. These islands appear to have been drained by rivers of considerable size, inhabited by crocodiles and other gigantic oviparous reptiles, both herbivorous and carnivorous, belonging, for the most part, to extinct genera. The land supported flying reptiles, insects, and small mammifera, allied to the opossum.

But in proportion as we examine the more modern strata, we find a gradual increase of animals and plants fitted to our present climate. During the periods of the successive deposition of the tertiary formations, there are signs of a great increase of land in European latitudes, which may perhaps have been compensated by the disappearance of continents nearer the line. The secondary and

brought about only at a recent period. And Mr. Lyell, we think, satisfactorily proves that such shifting of the position of continents, at successive epochs, from one part of the globe to another, is adequate to account for the variations of climate, which are attested by the nature of the organic remains preserved in strata of different ages.

Many geologists, it is well known, refer these alterations of climate to the supposed central heat of the globe; others, to astronomical causes; whilst some attribute them to chemical, some to electrical forces. Indeed it would seem, that the favourite principle of all trades—'Nothing like leather'—is adopted quite as generally among men of science as by more vulgar artists; and just as the dairy-maid believes the moon to be a great cheese, so the astronomer fancies our globe a condensed nebula; the chemist, an oxydized ball of aluminium and potassium; the electro-magnetician, a galvanic battery; the mineralogist, a prodigious crystal—'one entire chrysolite;' and the zoologist, an enormous animal—a thing of life and heat, with volcanoes for nostrils, lava for blood, and earthquakes for pulsations. The more sober geologists, however, differ in opinion as to the cause and nature of that powerful subterranean agency, the existence of which no one any longer doubts, whereby the stratified bed of the ocean is, as we have seen, gradually, or by shocks of more or less violence, raised into the open air, mountain-chains thrust up to towering elevations, and the rocks of which they are composed, fractured, twisted, and toppled over in the manner we find them. It is, indeed, admitted by all, that this unknown cause is the same which gives occasion to the phenomena of thermal springs and of volcanoes, and to the protrusion of those more solid masses of crystalline rock, the granites and traps, whose appearance seems always to be accompanied by so much disturbance and dislocation among the stratified formations. And it is something to have obtained a general concordance of opinion within the last few years to this extent.

Moreover, that the expansive power of heat is the immediate agent of this mighty movement to which the crust of the earth is everywhere more or less subjected, no one disputes, since no other force would be equal to the production of the effects, and its general and constant action is amply attested by the incandescent lavas that boil beneath every volcanic aperture in the crust of the earth—the hot springs and discharges of steam that rise through its minor fissures—the signs of fusion presented by so many of the crystalline rocks, and the increase of temperature in mines as we descend below the surface. But at this point opinions diverge. Some see the source of this heat in the occasional

sional oxydation of the metallic bases of the earths, of which, to suit their purpose, they fancy the nucleus of the globe composed. This is the chemical theory first started by Sir Humphry Davy, though afterwards admitted by him to be rather ingenious than probable. It has been since pursued by Professor Daubeny in this country, and by M. Ampère in France. Some writers imagine the whole mass of the globe beneath its outer crust to be still in a state of fusion, or, at least, to possess an intense temperature, far exceeding that at which the earths would be fused under the pressure of the atmosphere alone. They consider the escape of heat continually taking place by radiation, and through the volcanic spiracles and hot-springs, to occasion a gradual cooling down of the planet, and a consequent diminution in its bulk, which would necessarily give rise to the fracture and contortion and gradual thickening of its solid crust. This is the 'Theory of Central Heat,' espoused by Cordier and other French geologists. M. De la Bèche, in his late ingenious and able publication on Theoretical Geology, seems to adopt both ideas, and to imagine that some of the phenomena are best accounted for by the hypothesis of central heat, some by that of a metallic oxydizable nucleus. Though there is nothing incompatible in the two hypotheses, yet as both are sufficiently problematical, we do not think it very philosophical to resort to both, when either one or the other would be sufficient for the purpose. A third suggestion is that the heat may be owing to the circulation of electro-magnetic currents through the parts of the globe which immediately underlie the surface; and this is the theory to which Mr. Lyell now seems inclined to give in his adhesion.

Perhaps when we take into consideration our almost total ignorance of the nature and causes of heat in general, and our perfect

Mr. Lyell's arguments in favour of the electro-magnetic influence have very little weight with us; and also that we still remain, as when we commented upon it in our notice of his first volume, very sceptical upon the chemical theory of the metallic nucleus, whose oxydization is supposed to be effected by robbing the atmosphere and ocean of its oxygen through fissures, which, from all we know of such openings, are more likely to transmit gases and vapours from below upwards, than to admit of their passage downwards towards the region of intense subterranean heat. We think it far more probable that the gases and water, with all their mineral ingredients, which are now found on the surface of the globe, have themselves been derived from below, whence every hour fresh volumes of them are discharged before our eyes, than that they are undergoing continual diminution by penetrating that surface, and entering into combination with internal masses of metal, the existence of which anywhere is a pure hypothesis. We lean, therefore, if to any, rather to the notion that the globe is gradually cooling down, and still retains an intense temperature below its surface; a temperature which, however great, by no means implies a state of fusion, since the incumbent pressure of the crust may, and probably would, wholly prevent this condition, except partially and temporarily, where the yielding of the overlying rocks, or the opening of fissures, by diminishing the local pressure, may permit portions of the heated matter to expand, and perhaps to boil upwards and find its way out on the surface, or among the broken strata of that surface, in a liquid form. It must be recollected, that the early fluidity of the surface of the globe, which is inferred, with much apparent force of reasoning, from the figure it has assumed, does not by any means imply its complete fluidity throughout. A solid ball, or block of any irregular figure, launched into space at an intense temperature, and with the motion of the earth round its axis, would be superficially liquefied, and probably reduced to vapour to a certain depth, its projecting angles being rounded off, and the change of place of its liquefied parts communicating to the body the figure determined by its rotatory motion. But at a certain depth the influence of gravity would counteract the liquefying tendency of the temperature, however great, and retain the nucleus in a solid form. Thus the theory of the igneous fluidity of the surface of the globe at its origin does not necessarily imply that its nucleus is or ever was in a similar state.

But leaving these speculations—which belong rather to cosmogony than to legitimate geology, and, in the present condition of our knowledge, may justly be considered as premature—we will follow Mr. Lyell in his description of the changes now habitually

habitually taking place on the earth's surface. These, it will be recollected by our readers, are divided into two classes, those of igneous and those of aqueous agency. We select some examples of each of these classes. Most of our readers are aware that geologists are puzzled to account for the numerous great rounded blocks (boulders) of granite, gneiss, and other hard crystalline rocks, which are scattered over the plains of the north of Europe, of the Po, and the Danube; and which, in many cases, have evidently been derived from mountain-chains that are now not only very distant, but separated from them by deep arms of the sea, lakes, or valleys.

The striking passage which we are about to transcribe, offers a very satisfactory solution of a problem which cannot fail to have attracted the attention of every traveller in the countries we have named:—

"*Effects of ice in removing stones.*—In mountainous regions and high northern latitudes, the moving of heavy stones by water is greatly assisted by the ice which adheres to them, and which, forming together with the rock a mass of less specific gravity, is readily borne along. The snow which falls on the summits of the Alps throughout nine months of the year is drifted into the higher valleys, and being pressed downward by its own weight, forms those masses of ice and snow called *glaciers.* Large portions of these often descend into the lower valleys, where they are seen in the midst of forests and green pastures. The mean depth of the glaciers descending from Mont Blanc is from 80 to 100 feet, and in some chasms is seen to amount to 600 feet. The surface of the moving mass is usually loaded with sand, and large stones, derived from the disintegration of the surrounding rocks acted upon by frost. These transported materials are [illegible] arranged in long ridges or mounds, sometimes [illegible]

earth and stones, or were loaded with beds of rock of great thickness, of which the weight was conjectured to be from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand tons. Such bergs must be of great magnitude; because the mass of ice below the level of the water is between seven and eight times greater than that above. Wherever they are dissolved, it is evident that the "moraine" will fall to the bottom of the sea. In this manner may sub-marine valleys, mountains, and platforms become strewed over with scattered blocks of foreign rock, of a nature perfectly dissimilar from all in the vicinity, and which may have been transported across unfathomable abysses. We have before stated, that some ice-islands have been known to drift from Baffin's Bay to the Azores, and from the South Pole to the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope.'—Vol. i. p. 255.

It is not necessary, however, to suppose all the erratic blocks of the north of Europe to have floated to their present position on ice-bergs, for the powerful action of the tides and currents off the coast of Shetland, where blocks of granite, porphyry, and serpentine, of enormous dimensions, are continually detached from wasting cliffs during storms, and carried, in a few hours, to a distance of many hundred yards from the parent rocks, and even up considerable slopes,* proves the prodigious drifting force occasionally exerted at the bottom of the sea by the motion which winds or currents communicate to its waters—a force almost alone sufficient to have strewed the wreck of the Scandinavian mountains over the plains of Poland, whilst that country lay yet beneath the ocean. Should the floor of the German sea ever rise above the waters, we may expect to find much of it covered by similar fragments, which are certainly now being largely distributed over it.

Where, as on the slopes of the Jura, these blocks are found at considerable heights, it is probable that the hills on which they rest have been much uplifted since their deposition. A remarkable example of this, not mentioned by Mr. Lyell, occurs in the high platform which rises between the forked arms of the Lake of Como. This platform is strewed over with blocks derived from the high Alps, from which it is entirely cut off by the two chasms, several thousand feet in depth, which the lake occupies. These alluvial deposits are of so recent a date, geologically speaking, that it is interesting to meet with indisputable proofs of such stupendous phenomena as the rise of a large part of the Alps having taken place since their formation. We thus find these 'primeval mountains' to be actually of more recent origin than the pebbles that clothe their sides and summit.

The phenomena of overflowing, or *Artesian* wells—so called by the French, from having been long known and practised in Artois—are interesting to the inhabitants of this metropolis, in

* Lyell, book iv. ch. 11.

 whose

The igneous agents of change, especially the volcano and the earthquake, are perhaps yet more striking to the observer of nature. The face of the globe is traversed in various directions by lengthened bands which are habitually penetrated by volcanic eruptions, or shaken by earthquakes, and apparently indicate corresponding fissures in the crust of the planet through which the subterranean force (whatever it be) habitually finds vent. One of the best defined of these regions is that of the Andes. It traverses America from south to north, reaching from Terra del Fuego to California, and probably even farther north to the Aleutian isles, where it joins a similar train of volcanic vents which stretches from Kamskatcha southward through Japan, the Philippines and Moluccas, to Java and Sumatra. Thus the entire Pacific is almost girdled by a volcanic belt, while its interior is thickly studded with coral islands, not only indicating volcanic action by their abundant supply of carbonate of lime, but, in numerous instances, by their circular form, attesting the existence of the crater-shaped summit of a volcanic mountain beneath. The volcanic region which stretches east and west across the south of Europe, from the Caspian to the Azores, through Greece, southern Italy, Sicily, southern Spain, and Portugal, is to us an object of still greater interest. Of this line it may be observed, that there is a central tract where the greatest subterranean violence is felt, where rocks are shattered by earthquakes, mountains rent, the surface elevated or depressed, cities laid in ruins, and volcanic outbursts frequent. On each side of this line of greatest commotion are parallel bands of country where the shocks are less violent. At a still greater distance (as in northern Italy, for example), there are spaces where the shocks are more feeble, yet possibly of force sufficient to cause, by continued repetition, some appreciable alteration in the external form of the country. Beyond these limits again all countries are liable to slight tremors at distant intervals of time, when some great crisis of subterranean movement agitates an adjoining volcanic region; but these may be considered as mere vibrations, propagated mechanically through the external covering of the globe, as sound travels almost to indefinite distances through the air.

Mr. Lyell seems now to have come round to the opinion expressed by us in the review of his first volume, that the characteristic phenomena of earthquakes, the wavelike oscillations of the earth, are in reality nothing but the vibratory jar occasioned in the rocks which form the solid crust of the globe by their sudden and violent disruption. The expansive force of subterranean heat is the primary cause of the fracture; the elevation of one or other of the edges of the rent, perhaps of both, the immediate and permanent

 result:

result: the earthquake is merely an incident, and the volcanic eruption a casual accompaniment, which takes place only when the fracture is sufficiently deep and wide, or the reservoir of subterranean heat sufficiently near the surface, to permit the escape of some of the ebullient matter, or the discharge of its elastic vapour. But the main fractures in the crust of the globe which are indicated by the linear bands of subterranean disturbance we have mentioned are evidently of a compound character. The space they occupy is traversed in various directions by minor lines of volcanic vents, marking out secondary lines of fracture. It would seem that the intensely heated and intumescent matter that is the primary cause of all these phenomena, after shattering and forcing upwards large portions of the shell of the earth along the principal lines of disturbance, has established itself in several minor and habitual centres or lines of action, which probably communicate more or less with each other—one of them, when in habitual activity, operating as a sort of safety-valve to discharge the subterranean heat of the common focus. A comparison of the history of the convulsions of these tracts confirms this opinion. Thus, Ischia has been in a state of repose ever since Vesuvius has been so continually active; and it is therefore probable that the two vents communicate with a common focus at a certain distance from the surface, and that each affords relief alternately to elastic fluids and lava there generated. So, to extend the remark to a wider district, it appears that from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, Asia Minor, Syria, and Judea were in a state of tranquillity, while the Archipelago and southern Italy and Sicily suffered much from earthquakes. Since that period the state of things has been reversed. The latter regions have been comparatively tranquil, while the [illegible] portion of this volcanic band has been almost continually

obstruction to the discharge of volcanic heat may give rise to an earthquake or eruption.'

The volcanic action going on in the vicinity of Naples, where all its phenomena can be so conveniently and agreeably watched affords a valuable field of observation to the student of natural dynamics. Here not only is Vesuvius, as well as the neighbouring vent of Stromboli, and the nobler cone of Ætna, in almost continual and very energetic activity, but the traces of former action at various periods lie scattered around in profusion, and are mingled in a most interesting manner with the vestiges of man's occupation of the same fertile and delicious sites. The relics of human art and natural phenomena are every where intermixed, and mutually illustrate each other. We gather as much knowledge of the past history of Vesuvius from the disinterment of Pompeii and Herculaneum, as we do of the history and manners of their former inhabitants. The beautiful temple of Jupiter Serapis at Pozzuoli is quite as interesting to the geologist as to the antiquary. While its rich pavements and marble baths open curious glimpses to the latter of the habits and conveniences of ancient life, they afford to the former equally curious and novel views of the vicissitudes to which the surface of the earth is liable. The letter of Pliny the Younger describing the destruction of his uncle during the eruption of the neighbouring mountain, is perused with the same zest upon the spot where the event occurred by the scholar and the naturalist; and we speak from experience when we say, that the combination of both studies, and the degree to which each is often found unexpectedly to assist the other, afford a gratification of the most intense character, quite peculiar to this favoured a d favourite district. We can never forget the luxury of geologizing in the extinct craters of the Elysian Fields, with a Virgil in one hand and a hammer in the other—now penetrating the grot of the Sibyl beneath the curious lava-rock of Cumæ,

'ubi Dædalus exuit alas'—

now exploring the cup-shaped crater of the 'Gaurus inanis,' still clothed, as in the time of Juvenal, with vineyards,—now climbing that most remarkable volcanic cone the Monte Nuovo, which was thrown up in 1538 from the bosom of the Lucrine lake, without disturbing the temple of Apollo that yet adorns its margin,—now standing on the promontory of Misenum, surrounded by the written monuments of classical antiquity, and viewing, through the transparent medium of that delicious atmosphere, Vesuvius and the Solfatara yet smoking, with a hundred circling hills that mark out so many extinct volcanoes, whose craters and sides are studded with relics of Roman villas and Grecian cities,—Baiæ and Puteoli, Neapolis and Pæstum.

Mr.

and we know not how many other vessels, landed in planting their national standard on the crumbling peak mountain, and claiming its possession for their respective ments. No less than seven different names were given to it contending discoverers. And how far these rival pretensions have extended, and whether the peace of Europe might not been broken in the contest, it is difficult to say:—but the in the interim took the matter in hand, and by undermining reaching the loose and fragmentary strata of which it was posed, made very short work of the disputed territory. At the of October, that is about three months from its first appear-, the entire island had vanished. The whole had been lled with the sea, and not a vestige remained of it except a ll and dangerous reef of black rock, probably, as Mr. Lyell serves, the upper part of the body of lava from which the ex-sions proceeded, and which rose at no time higher than the sea-vel, but now offers a solid buttress to prop the surrounding beds loose materials, and retard their further dispersion by the waves d currents. Drawings were taken of this island at various eriods of its formation and destruction, which are instructive as roving its entire conformity in figure, and the arrangement of its eds, to so many volcanic isles of the Mediterranean and other as, whose mode of formation is not yet thoroughly understood by many geologists.

It is lamentable to find the far-fetched and untenable theory of *Erhebung's cratern*, or Elevation craters, still pertinaciously maintained by Von Buch and his disciples, with reference to Santorini, Palma, and many other volcanic mountains or islands. We know of few circumstances in the history of science more disparaging to the character of its followers, than this obstinate perseverance by men of note and authority in a theory unsupported by argument or evidence of the slightest weight, after the full exposure of its weakness by Mr. Lyell and others. The question is, as to the mode of formation of certain conical mountains composed of beds of interstratified lavas and conglomerates, all sloping gradually and regularly from the circular ridge of a central crater. As if on purpose to gratify our curiosity, nature produces before our eyes, on many different occasions, and in as many different spots, several mountains of this precise character in every particular, composed of similar materials, arranged in exactly the same manner; nay, in some instances, these recent hills have been actually thrown up *on the same spot*, within the central enclosure of the older circular hill whose origin is in dispute, as at Vesuvius, Barren Island, and Santorini. Can it be credited, that there are philosophers who, instead of referring the formation of

of the older hills to the process which has formed its analogues within our own time, choose to refer it to an unexampled and purely imaginary operation, invented by themselves for the purpose, and to which nothing at all similar has ever been witnessed, or shown by probable argument to have occurred! It is really disheartening to find stumbling-blocks placed so gratuitously in the path of science.

On the other hand, we are not for extending our conclusions from analogy beyond the limits of our own planet, or we should be tempted to refer the mountains of the *moon* to the same mode of formation as those of which we have been speaking. A contemporary astronomer, of splendid reputation, has indeed ventured upon this speculation.

'The generality of them,' says Sir John Herschel, 'present a striking uniformity and singularity of aspect. They are wonderfully numerous, occupying by far the larger portion of the surface, and almost universally of an exactly circular or cup-shaped form, foreshortened, however, into ellipses towards the limb; but the larger have, for the most part, flat bottoms within, from which rises centrally a small, steep, conical hill. They offer, in short, in its highest perfection, the true *volcanic* character, as it may be seen in the crater of Vesuvius, and in a map of the volcanic districts of the Campi Phlegræi, or the Puy de Dôme. And in some of the principal ones, decisive marks of volcanic stratification, *arising from successive deposits of ejected matter*, may be clearly traced with powerful telescopes.'

Our readers will recollect how convincingly Mr. Lyell demonstrates the unstable character of the surface of our continents, which we are apt to consider immoveable, from a review of the various earthquakes that have been recorded by competent observers within the last half century alone; some of which, as that of Cutch, in 1819, and Chili, in 1822, perceptibly elevated or depressed vast tracts of country, stretching over some thousands of square miles, by at least several feet perpendicular.

The force of this argument is much heightened by a simple note now appended to this chapter, in which the author is obliged to apologize for not continuing his catalogue of these convulsions up to the present time, owing to the difficulty of affording room for the number that have occurred in the two or three years since the publication of his first edition. Every month is in fact signalized by one or more such occurrence in some quarter of the globe; and it is impossible to deny that the supposition of a series of these movements continued, with more or less occasional violence, through a period of ages, will suffice to explain all the marks of disturbance and elevation which characterize the superficial

ficial strata of our continents; marks which, in all their varieties of faults, fissures, dikes, veins, and contortions, the formation of valleys and hills, the deflexion or drying up of rivers, the production of lakes, and so forth, are to be found most correctly exemplified in the effects of earthquakes witnessed within our own times.

Let us stop for a moment to contemplate the influence of these operations carried on by an agent of whose gigantic power we can scarcely entertain the conception, upon the puny works of man, when he happens to be within their range. The Calabrian earthquake of 1783 affords an interesting example of this nature. By that convulsion whole towns were thrown prostrate, and their population nearly annihilated. Forty thousand persons are stated by Sir W. Hamilton to have perished on the moment, while about twenty thousand more died from epidemics, occasioned by the consequent scarcity of food, exposure to the atmosphere, and malaria, arising from the newly-formed lakes and pools of stagnant water. The destruction of the aged Prince of Scilla, who, with all his people, to the number of 1430, was swept at once into the sea by an enormous wave, which, during one of the shocks, rushed impetuously upon the shore where they were standing, and carried them away in its retreat, is a well-known incident of this catastrophe. Others, less notorious, are related by Mr. Lyell, from the account of Dolomieu, who visited the country immediately after the event.

'He describes the city of Messina as still presenting, at least at a distance, an imperfect image of its ancient splendour. Every house was injured, but the walls were standing: the whole population had taken refuge in wooden huts in the neighbourhood, and all was solitude and silence in the streets: it seemed as if the city had been desolated by the plague, and the impression made upon his feelings was that of melancholy and sadness. "But when I passed over to Calabria, and first beheld Polistena, the scene of horror almost deprived me of my faculties; my mind was filled with mingled compassion and terror: nothing had escaped; all was levelled with the dust; not a single house or piece of wall remained; on all sides were heaps of stones so destitute of form, that they could give no conception of there ever having been a town on the spot. The stench of the dead bodies still rose from the ruins. I conversed with many persons who had been buried for three, four, and even for five days; I questioned them respecting their sensations in so dreadful a situation, and they agreed that, of all the physical evils they endured, thirst was the most intolerable; and that their mental agony was increased by the idea that they were abandoned by their friends, who might have rendered them assistance."

'It is supposed that about a fourth part of the inhabitants of Polistena,

tana, and of some other towns, were buried alive, and might have been saved had there been no want of hands; but in so general a calamity, where each was occupied with his own misfortunes, or those of his family, aid could rarely be obtained. Neither tears, nor supplications, nor promises of high rewards, were listened to. Many acts of self-devotion, prompted by parental and conjugal tenderness, or by friendship, or the gratitude of faithful servants, are recorded; but individual exertions were, for the most part, ineffectual. It frequently happened that persons in search of those most dear to them could hear their moans,—could recognize their voices,—were certain of the exact spot where they lay buried beneath their feet, yet could afford them no succour. The piled mass resisted all their strength, and rendered their efforts of no avail.'

Notwithstanding these instances of human suffering, our author justly proves that the general tendency of subterranean movements, when their effects are considered for a sufficient lapse of time, is eminently beneficial even to man himself. They constitute an essential part of that mechanism by which the most useful characters of the habitable surface are preserved, and the very existence and perpetuation of dry land is secured.

'Why the working of this same machinery should be attended with so much evil, is a mystery far beyond the reach of our philosophy, and must probably remain so until we are permitted to investigate, not our planet alone and its inhabitants, but other parts of the moral and material universe with which they may be connected. Could our survey embrace other worlds, and the events, not of a few centuries only, but of periods as indefinite as those with which geology renders us familiar, some apparent contradictions might be reconciled, and some difficulties would doubtless be cleared up. But even then, as our capacities are finite, while the scheme of the universe may be infinite, both in time and space, it is presumptuous to suppose that all sources of doubt and

phically distributed over the earth's surface, the influence of certain fluctuating and temporary conditions of that surface upon their continuance, their successive disappearance and extermination under unfavourable circumstances, and the probability of new animals and plants being created from time to time to supply their place.

We hasten, however, to that part of our author's work which formed the third and concluding volume of his first edition, and which has hitherto remained unnoticed by us. It relates chiefly to geology *proper*, and unites a general description and classification of the rocks open to our view on the earth's surface, with a reference to the circumstances under which they appear to have been produced or modified, when considered by the light of that knowledge as to the existing causes of change which we have acquired from the preceding treatises.

In the infancy of geology, the relative superposition of the stratified rocks was considered the single test of their antiquity—it being assumed that the upper beds had invariably been deposited as sediments or precipitates from water *upon* the lower. But as it was very possible that a recent bed might be formed in immediate contact with a very ancient one, where the latter was superficially denuded, and all the series which on other spots intervened between the two were locally absent, some other test of age was obviously wanting; and this was sought for, and happily discovered in the fossil organic remains of the different strata. The upper or newest beds were found to contain plants and animals, whether terrestrial or marine, identical for the most part with the species which still inhabit the neighbouring land or waters. On the other hand, the beds which underlay these in some spots, though in others showing themselves on the surface, contained fewer remains of existing species, with a larger proportion of species now apparently extinct; and the strata of still greater age, according to the order of superposition, exhibited numberless species and genera having no living analogues whatever. Thus the law of successive appearance of species was brought most usefully to confirm the general conclusions derivable from the order of superposition, and to supply its frequent deficiencies.

But besides the strata evidently of aqueous origin, a very large class of rocks occur generally of a highly crystalline texture, which, from their analogy to the lavas of recent volcanos, are now recognised to be of igneous or subterranean origin; and with reference to them, since they were protruded from below upwards, it is clear that no conclusion could be drawn as to their age, or the period at which they first took their present position, from their relations of superposition to other masses. On the contrary, it is in fact ascertained,

much more important and extensive than had been previously imagined. The arrangement proposed rests of course on the evidence afforded by their fossil organic contents, and especially the shells which they generally contain in great abundance and high preservation. He says:—

'Although the bones of mammalia in the tertiary strata, and those of reptiles in the secondary, afford us instruction of the most interesting kind, yet the species are too few, and confined to too small a number of localities, to be of much value in characterising the subdivisions of geological formations. Skeletons of fish are by no means frequent in a good state of preservation, and the science of ichthyology must be farther advanced before we can hope to determine their specific character with precision. The same may be said of fossil botany, notwithstanding the great progress that has been recently made in that department; and even in regard to zoophytes, which are so much more abundant in a fossil state than any of the classes above enumerated, we are still impeded in our endeavour to classify strata by their aid, in consequence of the smallness of the number of recent species which have been examined from those tropical seas where they occur in the greatest profusion.

'The testacea then are by far the most important class of organic beings which have left their spoils in the sub-aqueous deposits; and they have been truly said to be the medals which nature has chiefly selected to record the history of the former changes of the globe. There is scarcely any great series of strata that does not contain some marine or fresh-water shells, and these fossils are often found so entire, especially in the tertiary formations, that when disengaged from the matrix, they have all the appearance of having been just procured from the sea. Their colour, indeed, is usually wanting, but the parts whereon specific characters are founded remain unimpaired; and though the animals themselves are gone, their form and habits can generally be inferred from the shell which covered them.

'The utility of the testacea in geological classification is greatly enhanced by the circumstance, that some forms are proper to the sea, others to the land, and others to fresh water. Rivers scarcely ever fail to carry down into their deltas some land shells, together with species which are at once fluviatile and lacustrine. The Rhone, for example, receives annually from the Durance many shells which are drifted in an entire state from the higher Alps of Dauphiny, and these species, such as *Bulimus montanus*, are carried down into the delta of the Rhone to a climate very different from that of their native habitation. The young hermit crabs may often be seen on the shores of the Mediterranean, near the mouth of the Rhone, inhabiting these univalves, brought down to them from so great a distance. At the same time that some fresh-water and land shells are carried into the sea, other individuals of the same species become fossil in inland lakes, and by this means we learn what species of fresh-water and marine testacea coexisted at particular eras. We also make out the connexion

is easier to carve out a dwelling in the rock than to form one by laying stone upon stone in the open air. The white rock has all the appearance of having been precipitated from the waters of mineral springs, such as we see so frequently still at the bottom of the sea in the volcanic regions of the Mediterranean. And the occasional interstratifications with it of lava and volcanic breccias lends probability to this idea. Below this limestone are beds of calcareous sandstone, conglomerate, and blue marl. And the whole of the group contains shells, fish, and zoophytes, nearly all of which are species now inhabiting the contiguous sea. Of 226 species, brought by Mr. Lyell from the formation, 216 were recognized by M. Deshayes as still living; only ten belonging to extinct or unknown species. Nevertheless, the antiquity of the newer pliocene strata of Sicily, as contrasted with our most remote historical era, must be very great; embracing perhaps, Mr. Lyell observes, myriads of years. The proofs of their gradual accumulation are of a convincing nature.

"In one part of the great limestone formation near Lentini, I found some imbedded volcanic pebbles, covered with full-grown serpulæ, supplying a beautiful proof of a considerable interval of time having elapsed between the rounding of these pebbles and their enclosure in a solid stratum. I also observed, not far from Vizzini, a very striking illustration of the length of the intervals which occasionally separated the distinct lava currents. A bed of oysters, perfectly identifiable with our common eatable species, no less than twenty feet in thickness, is there seen resting upon a current of basaltic lava; upon the oyster-bed again is superimposed a second mass of lava, together with tuff or peperino. Near Galeri, not far from the same locality, a horizontal bed, about a foot and a half in thickness, composed entirely of a common Mediterranean coral (*Caryophyllia cyathus*, Lam.) is also

the eastern foot of the mountain, render it probable, that at the period when the sedimentary strata and volcanic rocks of the Val di Noto were formed, Etna existed as a small insular volcano, the summit of the cone alone projecting above the level of the waters, as is now the case with Stromboli. Possibly also a group of similar islets, like the Lipari isles, then existed to the south, where the Val di Noto now stands. The rapid destruction of Graham's Island, which was thrown up off the neighbouring coast in 1831, shows the process by which the materials of such volcanic islands would, by the influence of waves and currents, be naturally distributed into beds of breccias and peperinos, such as occur in great abundance throughout the south of Sicily.

Mr. Lyell's description of the Val de Buè, a vast hollow on one side of the mountain, which he is inclined to attribute to subsidence, but which is more probably an ancient crater drilled through the mass of the mountain by some former paroxysmal eruption, is full of interest. We can attest its accuracy, and shall never ourselves forget the union of the horrible and the beautiful offered by this vast volcanic amphitheatre, encircled by gloomy precipices, which might fittingly wall in the infernal regions, and floored by black and bristling lava-streams, which seem to have just flowed out of some such source. Yet the lava has here and there left uninjured broad strips of green herbage, and hillocks clothed with the remains of primeval forests. On these islands of the desert graze the herds from which the valley has its name; whilst, as in the days of Theocritus, the herdsman pipes or sings to them from some pointed rock. The stern and gloomy desolation of the general scene enhances the beauty of these Arcadian pictures, like a dark setting to a gem.

In 1819, a stream of lava poured in a cascade of fire over the lofty cliff which bounds this vast hollow. When it was visited a few months later in the same year, the stream was still slowly advancing along the bottom of the vale; and though the surface of the lava forming the cascade had coagulated in mid air, like a frozen waterfall, its interior was probably still flowing on, for at night a glowing heat was perceivable through the outer crevices.

Mr. Lyell speculates on the antiquity of Etna; but the data for computing it are most imperfect. All that can be said is, that its structure, as shown in the precipices of the Val de Buè, and other deep ravines, proves it to have been formed by the successive accumulation of one lava stream and one shower of sand and scoria above another, forming so many irregular conical envelopes to the original nucleus. There are eighty conspicuous minor cones rising upon its flanks, each the product of a separate eruption; but as fast as fresh hills of this nature are formed, older ones are

 gradually

gradually obliterated by flows of lava or the fall of cinders around them. Nothing indicates that the lava currents of remote periods were greater in volume than those of modern times; and it would tend to raise our conceptions of the antiquity of the mountains, when we consider that considerable eruptions occur only at the interval of many years, and that, as the base of Etna is [illegible] in circumference, it would need ninety flows of lava, [illegible] in breadth at its termination, to raise the present [illegible] of the volcano by a few feet, the average height of its [illegible]. On these grounds we must infer that a mass, eight or [illegible] times as bulky as Etna, must have required an immense [illegible] of years, reckoned in the immediate periods, for its growth. [illegible] be regarded as the product of a number [illegible] volcanic periods. It is thus that volcanic [illegible] are [illegible] by the sedimentary strata, [illegible] and [illegible] duration of even the [illegible] times, an devastating [illegible] is supposed to have swept over [illegible] volcanoes, [illegible] symmetrical [illegible] and its base [illegible] fragment [illegible]

[illegible] been taken place on the surface [illegible] of rocks, which, [illegible] has been [illegible] out of sight?

[illegible] that the tertiary strata of [illegible] have [illegible] thousand feet, and to be [illegible] Cretaceous [illegible] about [illegible]

three thousand square miles in area, to an additional height of several hundred yards, implies either the intrusion of new mineral matter into the fundamental rocks, or a modification in their character. . . . The result of these operations may one day be exposed to view; but a great lapse of time will probably be required before masses formed or altered at great depths can be brought up to the surface.

Quicquid sub terrâ est in apricum proferet ætas,
Defodiet condetque nitentia.' —vol. iii., pp. 369, 370.

Other examples of the *newer pliocene* marine deposits are adduced from the West India islands, Madeira, Nice, the Red Sea, and the ancient shelly beaches of the Norwegian coast, which rise two hundred feet or more above the sea-level. Freshwater and alluvial strata of the same era occur in the valley of the Elsa, in Tuscany, the Campagna, the Rhine basin, &c. But the *older pliocene* is the more important formation, being developed on a very large scale in many parts of Europe. The sub-apennine strata, so well described and illustrated by the lamented Brocchi, are particularly interesting from their magnitude and extent, the height to which they have been upraised on either side of the older ridge of the Apennines against which they lean, and the number, variety, and perfect state of the fossils they contain. In England, the crag of Norfolk and Suffolk is referred by Mr. Lyell to the same period. An examination of the shells it contains, by M. Deshayes, afforded, out of one hundred and eleven species, sixty-six which are extinct or unknown, to forty-five recent—these last, with only *one* exception, being now inhabitants of the German Ocean.

Mr. Lyell refers the extinct volcanoes of Olot, in Catalonia, and of the Eiffel and Rhine district, to the older pliocene age. It is evident that the land or fresh-water shells that are found interbedded with successive strata of volcanic origin afford a very safe clue to the age of such rocks.

Extensive marine formations of the *miocene* period are found in Touraine, in the basin of the Loire, and in the south of France, between the Pyrenees and the Gironde; in Piedmont, near Turin; and in several parts of the basin of the Danube. To this age are referred the great tertiary formations of Styria, so admirably described by Sedgwick and Murchison, one member of which, a coralline and concretionary limestone, occasionally attains a thickness of four hundred feet, and exceeds, therefore, some of the most considerable of our secondary groups in England.

But of all the divisions of the tertiary strata the most ancient, or *eocene*, is developed on the largest scale. No less than one thousand four hundred species of shells have been discovered in the beds of this age, out of which only three and a half per cent.

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The fresh-water strata of the Cantal are remarkable for their resemblance to our chalk, containing similar beds of flint.

'By what means, then, can the geologist at once decide that the limestone and silex of Aurillac are referrible to an epoch entirely distinct from that of the English chalk? It is not by reference to position, for we can merely say of the lacustrine beds, as we should have been able to declare of the true chalk had it been present, that they overlie the granitic rocks of this part of France. It is from the organic remains only that we are able to pronounce the formation to belong to the Eocene tertiary period. Instead of the marine Alcyonia of our cretaceous system, the silicified seed-vessels of the Chara, a plant which grows at the bottom of lakes, abound in the flints of Aurillac, both in those which are *in situ* and those forming the gravel. Instead of the Echini and marine testacea of the chalk, we find in these marls and limestones the shells of the Planorbis, and other lacustrine testacea, all of them, like the gyrogonites, agreeing specifically with species of the Eocene type.

'Some sections of the foliated marls in the valley of the Cer, near Aurillac, attest, in the most unequivocal manner, the extreme slowness with which the materials of the lacustrine series were amassed. In the hill of Barrat, for example, we find an assemblage of calcareous and siliceous marls, in which, for a depth of at least sixty feet, the layers are so thin, that thirty are sometimes contained in the thickness of an inch; and when they are separated we see preserved in every one of them the flattened stems of Charæ, or other plants, or sometimes myriads of small *paludinæ* and other freshwater shells. These minute foliations of the marl resemble precisely some of the recent laminated beds of the Scotch marl lakes, and may be compared to the pages of a book, each containing a history of a certain period of the past.....We find several hills in the neighbourhood of Aurillac composed of such materials for the height of more than two hundred feet from their base, the whole sometimes covered by rocky currents of trachytic or basaltic lava.

'Thus wonderfully minute are the separate parts of which some of the most massive geological monuments are made up! When we desire to classify, it is necessary to contemplate entire groups of strata in the aggregate; but if we wish to understand the mode of their formation, and to explain their origin, we must think only of the minute subdivisions of which each mass is composed. We must bear in mind how many thin, leaf-like seams of matter, each containing the remains of myriads of testacea and plants, frequently enter into the composition of a single stratum, and how vast a succession of these strata unite to form a single group! We must remember, also, that volcanos like the Plomb du Cantal, which rises in the immediate neighbourhood of Aurillac, are themselves equally the result of successive accumulation, consisting of reiterated flows of lava and showers of scoriæ; and I have shown, when treating of the high antiquity of Etna, how many distinct lava-currents and heaps of ejected substances are

duced from the study of the fossil remains, we are naturally led to conclude, that the earth was at that period in a perfectly settled state, and already fitted for the habitation of man.

'The heat of European latitudes during the Eocene period does not seem to have been superior, if equal, to that now experienced between the tropics: some *living* species of molluscous animals, both of the land, the lake, and the sea, existed when the strata of the Paris basin were formed, and the contrast in the organization of the various tribes of Eocene animals, when compared to those now co-existing with man, although striking, is not, perhaps, so great as between the living Australian and European types.'—vol. iv. pp. 128, 129.

The tertiary basins of London and Hampshire belong to the Eocene period. A great number of the shells of the London clay have been identified with those of the Paris basin. Few remains of land animals are found here, but skeletons of crocodiles and turtles are not uncommon, and prove the former contiguity of land; as do also the numerous seed-vessels, and fruits, many of them resembling the cocoa-nut, and other spices of tropical regions, which are found fossil in great profusion in the Isle of Sheppy.

Mr. Lyell employs several chapters in an endeavour to account for the remarkable geological circumstances of the south-east of England, and particularly of the several *anticlinal* valleys, including the great vale of the Weald, which penetrate the chalk and some older secondary beds. The conclusions at which he arrives are—that the land of this portion of England gradually rose from below the sea during the Eocene period—that the denudation of the Weald, and other similar valleys, was effected by the slow agency of the waves and currents of the sea during the same period—and that the wreck was drifted through the transverse fissures which now drain these valleys to the *outside* of the lateral chalk ridges, and went to form the eocene strata which were then being deposited in the contiguous basins of London and Hampshire—the continuance of the elevatory process bringing at length these latter strata to their present height above the sea-level. This theory, we own, seems to us to present many difficulties. That the immense mass of materials which once covered the Weald valley, on the supposition that the chalk was continuous over its whole extent, could have been carried out through the few narrow gorges in the chalk that now drain this district, seems inconceivable.

But why is it necessary to suppose the chalk to have at any time extended over this part of England? Why are we not at liberty to suppose that the Weald clay and Hastings sand had been elevated above the sea *before* the deposition of the chalk, and formed

strata of the upper oolite. Thus, a great fresh-water formation, calculated to be, in some parts, no less than two thousand feet thick, is found to intervene between the marine deposits of one period (the oolite), and those of another (the green sand and chalk), attesting, in a most striking manner, the great extent of former revolutions in the position of sea and land.

The chalk formation is a remarkable one. In England, France, Denmark, and generally throughout the north of Europe, it maintains a considerable uniformity of character. But in other parts it varies very much in mineral character, and is only to be recognised by its peculiar organic remains. These are extremely copious, amounting to about a thousand species of shells alone. And it is most remarkable that in this large number, *not one* has been identified with any of the two or three thousand species found in the overlying tertiary strata! Thus a *complete* break is established between the *oldest tertiary* and the *newest secondary* formations. Was this owing to some violent and sudden change, which at that epoch produced a complete revolution in the circumstances of the animate creation of this part of the globe, extinguishing all the older species and occasioning the appearance of a new set—as some geologists maintain?—or, according to Mr. Lyell's belief, was the change gradual? Though we have not ourselves been fortunate enough to observe any of the connecting links, it seems to have been proved by Messrs. Sedgwick and Murchison, that, in the Valley of Gosau and other places of the Austrian Alps, *there does exist* a complete passage from the cretaceous into the tertiary deposits; hence, these distinguished geologists conclude that the *lacuna* observable in England and other tracts is only a partial phenomenon;—and the subsequent inquiries of M. Dufresnoy, in the south of France, appear to have added confirmation to their views.

The oolite, or Jura limestone formation, occurs next in order of antiquity among the marine formations. It consists of limestone, clay, marl, and sand, which, considered in the aggregate, retain the same lithological character throughout a considerable part of England, France, and Germany. The coral rag and analogous zoophytic limestones of this period, occurring in different parts of Europe, bear the greatest resemblance to the coralline formations now in progress in the seas of warm latitudes, and have every appearance of having been formed under similar circumstances. The Stonesfield slate, and the lithographic limestone of Solenhofen, subordinate beds of this series, contain quite a museum of organic remains, where marine shells and plants are associated with a great variety of species of *flying* lizards, or pterodactyls, saurians, tortoises, fish, crustacea, and insects. Many of these have

We cannot afford space to pursue our author into his examination of the theory of M. de Beaumont on the epochal elevation of several mountain-chains, which we agree in thinking exaggerated and inconsistent even with itself, especially that part of it which affects to establish the contemporaneous origin of all parallel ranges.

'The primary class of rocks offers for discussion many interesting problems. Those which are unstratified, and bear an analogy to volcanic lavas, as granite and porphyry, may naturally be supposed to owe their peculiar texture and mineral character to the circumstances under which they have been generated, perhaps through repeated fusion and solidification under enormous pressure at great depths below the surface. The stratified primary rocks, gneiss and mica-schist, clay-slate, primary limestone, quartz-rock, &c., Mr. Lyell considers to be sedimentary deposits, altered in the lapse of ages by the action of subterranean heat. This is the theory of Hutton, and is supported by the occasional passage of these rocks into granite, and other rocks unquestionably of igneous origin, and their frequent resemblance to them in texture and mineral composition, while, on the other hand, their stratification and gradations into the overlying strata connect them as decidedly with undoubted aqueous deposits. The occasional alteration of the latter beds, where they come in contact with dykes or intruded masses of igneous rock, seems to strengthen this view of the question. If the vicinity of a heated vein of lava, as is proved by several examples, has converted common chalk or argillaceous limestone into granular and crystalline marble containing garnets, sandstone into solid quartz, and shale into hornblende-schist, it is certainly not impossible that the same changes may have taken place on the large scale, when strata of limestones, shales, and sandstones have been subjected for ages to the vicinity of enormous masses of intensely heated rock, at great depths and under vast pressure. The experiments of Watt prove that a rock need not be perfectly melted in order that a re-arrangement of its component particles should take place and a more crystalline structure ensue. 'We may easily suppose therefore,' says Mr. Lyell, 'that all traces of shells and other organic remains may be destroyed, and that new chemical combinations may arise, without the mass being so fused as that the lines of stratification should be wholly obliterated.'

'According to these views, gneiss and mica-schist may be nothing

testacea, are different in each descending stage—and that, though fishes are found in the upper portion, they entirely disappear in the lowest strata. Thus working from a well-defined base line, the old red sandstone, Mr. Murchison has traced downwards formations which, though hitherto undescribed, are, it appears, expanded over a large portion of our island.

more

more than micaceous and argillaceous sandstones altered by heat; and certainly, in their mode of stratification and lamination, they correspond most exactly. Granular quartz may have been derived from siliceous sandstone, compact quartz from the same. Clay-slate may be altered shale, and shale appears to be clay which has been subjected to great pressure. Granular marble has probably originated in the form of ordinary limestone, having in many instances been replete with shells and corals now obliterated, while calcareous sands and marls have been changed into impure crystalline limestones.'...

'Associated with the rocks termed primary, we meet with anthracite, just as we find beds of coal in sedimentary formations; and we know that, in the vicinity of some trap-dykes, coal is converted into anthracite.'—pp. 288-9.

In accordance with this theory, Mr. Lyell, giving the name of *hypogene* to the class of rocks formerly called *primary*—(the latter term being rejected as conveying a false notion of their age, while the former correctly expresses their leading character, namely *formation below* the surface of the earth)—and he separates this class into two divisions—the Plutonic, or unstratified, and the Metamorphic, or altered stratified rocks.

Our author enters into very little detail in explanation or support of this *metamorphic* theory, which is rather thrown out by him as a suggestion than insisted upon as capable of demonstration. We are certainly no converts to it as yet. The main argument in its favour is the stratification or rather laminated structure of these rocks, gneiss, mica and clay-slates, &c. But besides that their mode of stratification is not very similar to that of the secondary sandstones, shales, and marls, from which they are said to be formed, it would seem to us, that the liquefaction and alteration by volcanic heat, which are supposed to have effaced all traces of organic remains in them, would equally or still more effectually have obliterated their lines of stratification, which in secondary sandstones, marls, &c. are very evanescent. Now, we believe it may be affirmed as a general fact, that the degree of lamination presented by the rocks in question is in direct proportion to the quantity and more or less parallel disposition of that extremely lamellar mineral, mica, which is disseminated through them. Their laminar structure seems clearly to be owing to the abundance and parallelism of the plates of mica they contain. But Mr. Lyell's theory supposes all this mica to have crystallized where it occurs, *since* the rock assumed its laminated structure; in other words, that the effect preceded its obvious cause.

We do not wish to advance any rival theory of our own, but content ourselves with observing, that, if the stratification of these rocks prove them to partake of a sedimentary character, it is such as

as might be expected to proceed from the subsidence of the crystalline minerals they are at present composed of, viz., mica, quartz, felspar, &c. from a body of agitated and perhaps intensely-heated water, in which these substances, the materials, be it recollected, of the contemporaneous plutonic rocks, were suspended. If we imagine a mass of granite to be forcibly protruded at the bottom of a deep sea, at an intense temperature, the tremendous conflict that must ensue between the two elements may be supposed to occasion such agitation and turbulence in the contiguous waters as would disintegrate and sweep off much of the superficial granite, to be deposited in calmer spots around the scene of conflict, and, as the eruption subsided, upon its site. The result would be some rocks very like gneiss, in the immediate neighbourhood of the erupted granite; mica-slate at a little distance, where the filmy plates of mica subsided in abundance; and clay-slate at a greater distance, where the finer particles, which would remain longest in suspension, at length sank to the bottom. The heat of the water would retain much of the quartz in solution, and account for the half-worn, half-melted character which its grains and nodules exhibit in these rocks. If Mr. Lyell will recollect his own relation of the extreme difficulty of distinguishing some of the tertiary sandstone of the edges of the Limague basin, from the gneiss and granite of whose disintegrate materials it consists, and into which it actually seems to graduate, he will see that there is no occasion for imagining the crystals of a stratified granite to have been formed subsequently to its deposition. That the intense heat under which the rocks in question were produced powerfully affected their character, we have no doubt. They may have been also more or less modified by it subsequently, though this we see no reason for concluding. The *friction* they have sustained during their elevation from the depths in which they were formed, we cannot but think likely to have still further influenced their peculiar structure. No rocks are so twisted or folded into such intricate curves as these, and their flexures and contortions are usually the greater, the greater the quantity of *mica* they contain. Now this peculiarly flexible and lamellar mineral, the plates of which *slide* with great ease upon one another, must, where it abounded, have conferred a proportionate flexibility and internal mobility of particles to the laminæ of the rock, inducing it to yield readily to the squeezes it was subjected to under enormous conflicting and irregular pressures, and to be drawn out into those long lamellar folds which characterize these rocks, mica-slate especially; and which are perhaps quite as much owing to this internal movement as to their original subsidence in parallel

parallel flakes from aqueous suspension. In some of the pearlstone lavas, which no one can suspect to be sedimentary, internal friction of this kind has given rise to just the appearance which characterizes gneiss—the disintegrated crystals of felspar, mica, and hornblende, being drawn out in lengthened stripes and layers, in the direction of the motion communicated to the mass.

Let Mr. Lyell imagine sedimentary beds of the disintegrated materials of granite to be formed at the bottom of a deep ocean, under the circumstances we have described, and subsequently exposed to intense pressure and internal motion, as they were gradually thrust upwards to their present situation, and perhaps he will allow that the resulting rocks must partake very much of the character of his metamorphic class. We throw this hint out for his consideration, against the time which, we are sure, cannot be far distant, when a new edition will be required of his work.

Mr. Lyell winds up his book by a defence from the charge which he considers us to have brought against him on a former occasion,* of endeavouring to establish the proposition, 'that the existing causes of change have operated with absolute uniformity from all eternity.' The unfairness of the charge, he observes, was pointed out by Playfair, who said, 'that it was one thing to declare that we had not yet discovered the traces of a beginning, and another to deny that the earth ever had a beginning.' Now had Mr. Lyell contented himself with declaring, that we had not yet discovered traces of a beginning to the present general condition of the world, we should have found no fault with the tendency of his argument, though we might have disputed its correctness. But he went farther, and declared it to be unphilosophical to look for traces of a beginning, or to imagine it possible that we should discover such.

rant us in presuming that we may be permitted to behold the signs of the earth's origin, or the evidence of the first introduction into it of organic beings'—that 'to assume that the evidence of the beginning or end of so vast a scheme as is comprehended in this globe, with all its animate and inanimate contents, lies within the reach of our philosophical inquiries, *or even of our speculations*, appears to be inconsistent with a just estimate of the relations which subsist between the finite powers of man and the attributes of an infinite and eternal Being.'

Undoubtedly, we should not be warranted in *assuming* that we have discovered, or shall ever discover and identify, the first-formed strata; but we may surely seek for them without irreverence. If we believed in Mr. Lyell's subterranean cookery of sedimentary strata into granite, we should consider the search hopeless one; but certainly no more a profane inquiry into hidden mysteries than any one of Mr. Lyell's own speculations. To an 'eternal and infinite Being,' the countless ages through which Mr. Lyell traces back the history of the earth are but as one day—the globe, with all that it inherits, is but as a point in the space occupied by his works. His 'attributes' are not degraded, but rather exalted, by the supposition that, at his fiat, new worlds, arrayed in gorgeous beauty and teeming with wondrous contrivances, are called into existence; while others, in turn, decay and become extinct. Such an idea is in no way inconsistent with the 'perfect harmony of design and unity of pupose,' which is exemplified in all we have yet been permitted to know of the universal creation. We must retort then upon Mr. Lyell himself the charge of unwarranted assumption which he has levelled at us, though in the same friendly spirit in which he has met our remarks. We must aver, that 'to assume that the evidence of any beginning or end to the present state of the globe we inhabit, lies *without* the reach of our philosophical speculations, is inconsistent with a just estimate of our own powers and of the attributes of the eternal and infinite Creator.'

The practical difference between ourselves and our author is simply upon the question, whether or not there *are* traces on the earth's surface of former changes of a more violent and tumultuary character than such as habitually occur at present—whether the present order of change is *cyclical*, and uniform in amount through equal periods, or progressive and, on the whole, diminishing in violence. The latter supposition does not, we before remarked, involve any doubt (as Mr. Lyell seems to imagine) of the permanency of the existing laws of nature. The theory, for example, of the gradual refrigeration of the globe does not suppose

pose any former deviation from the existing laws of heat, light, or gravity. Mr. Lyell mistakes the essential character of his own argument. It is not the constancy of the laws of nature which he is contending for; this no one disputes. His real theory is, that there has been no progressive variation in the intensity of the forces which modify the earth's crust—but that a cyclical succession of such changes, of equal amount in equal periods, has been going on throughout all time, so far as geology enables us to explore its abysses. And on this point Mr. Lyell must be content to join issue with other geologists, under the disadvantage of all analogy being against him: from which, as we have shown, it is presumable, *à priori*, that the series of geological mutations to which the earth is subject, is a progressive, not a stationary or recurring series—that our planet, like every individual form within it, is subject to the law of integration and disintegration, has had a beginning, and will have an end.

We have deemed it due to Mr. Lyell to express fairly our opinion on this topic; but it is not less due to him than to our readers, that we should observe, in conclusion, how distinctly the general tendency of these volumes is to open up new, interesting, and expansive views of the mighty work of Creative Intelligence. The work is, in this respect, a fit prelude to the Bridgewater Treatise on Geology, which we are expecting from the pen of Dr. Buckland. Though not, like the latter treatise, devoted specially to their illustration, no reader can peruse it without being deeply impressed by the fresh and striking proofs it affords, in every page, of the Almighty Power, Wisdom, and Goodness—proofs, multiplied through countless ages of the globe's history, equally conspicuous in the microscopic fossil and the massive

in the reigns of the four Georges, which he designates as the *Georgian Era,* in contradistinction, as he says, to the eras of *Elizabeth* or *Anne;*—in the next place, abandoning the alphabetical form of the Biographical Dictionaries, he classes his subjects under the separate heads of the Royal Family—the Senate—the Church—the Army—the Navy—Science—Literature—Painting, Sculpture—Architecture—Music—and the Stage; and he arranges the individuals of each class in the chronological order of their births. By '*entirely re-writing*' all the lives, and adjusting them in a *consecutive series*, he escapes from the necessity of *repeating* the same public transactions where many individuals bore a share—which, in common biographical dictionaries, cannot be avoided, and which tends to increase the size without adding to the substance of such works. He also professes to have consulted the *original* materials, and says :—

'Every possible exertion has been made, both on the part of the Editor and his assistants, to elucidate doubtful points, to reconcile conflicting authorities, and to *rectify the errors* of preceding writers. No public event, or private anecdote of interest or importance, has been either negligently omitted or wilfully concealed; so that, it is hoped, the volumes may be said to form at once a *work of entertainment and reference.* Reliance has never been placed on any single biography; various authorities have invariably been consulted, and existing memoirs of contemporary characters have been *corrected by careful comparison with each other.* A *judicious use* has also been made of the valuable diaries, autobiographies, and original letters of eminent persons, which have recently been brought to light. Wherever information was suspected to lurk, there it has been diligently sought; in addition to the more grave and obvious sources, anecdotal, miscellaneous, and periodical works,—even fugitive pieces, and foreign literature,—have been *adventurously explored.* In many cases, reference has been made, with material advantage, to the existing relatives of departed *worthies;* and, in some, an inspection of important family papers has been obtained. The Editor *fearlessly* asserts an *unimpeachable* claim to strict impartiality; in summing up the characters, he has acted under no influence but that of his own judgment. Not only has he spurned any truckling to party feeling, but that *lamentable transmission of error,* as well with regard to opinion as matter of fact, from generation to generation, *which arises from the ready faith reposed in the statements of distinguished authors, he has, in numerous cases, successfully checked.* Laurels, originally awarded by private friendship, bigoted admiration, or political partisanship, are, in the present work, torn from the brows of the undeserving, and transferred to those of such meritorious individuals as have been visited with obloquy, either through ignorance of their merits, personal pique, public clamour, or party bitterness. Many persons of great abilities have met with no literary advocates; while others, of doubtful claims, have

 had

had their "nothings monstered" by adulatory biographers, although treated with apathetic indifference by those who were most competent to judge of their qualities;—an attempt has been made to remedy such evils in these volumes; the judgment pronounced on each individual being, it is sincerely hoped, commensurate with his merits, however it may differ from his standard reputation.'—*Preface*, pp. 5, 6.

To these—not very modest—pretensions we must add that the typographical execution of the work is exceedingly neat, and that so much care in the mechanical part afforded us a reasonable expectation that not only would great and substantial mistakes be avoided, but that we should not have had to complain of the minor errors of transcription and of the press, which so generally impair the utility of works of this nature; and on the whole we hoped that we had here, in a light and luminous form, a combination of history and biography,—for public events, personal anecdotes, and impartial criticism—of a period, taken altogether, the most illustrious of our annals! We regret to say, that all these expectations have been most grievously, most utterly disappointed; the plan of the work turns out to be, in some important points, impracticable; —and the execution exhibits such a mass of ignorance, vulgarity, negligence, and falsehood of all kinds, as the genius of Grub-street never before, we believe, collected into the same compass.

First let us consider the general design. The author begins by distinguishing the *Georgian Era* from that of *Anne;* but his list of Georgian 'worthies,' as he calls them, comprises every name (almost without exception) of those who have conferred on the reign of Anne the title of the 'AUGUSTAN' age of England,—Tennison, Burnet, Atterbury, Berkeley, South, Bentley, Harley, Bolingbroke, Wyndham, Marlborough, Peterborough, Somers, Harcourt, Newton, Radcliffe, Halley, Arbuthnot, Garth, Pope, Swift, Addison, Steele, Prior, Gay, Sheffield, Kneller, Gibbons, Wren, Vanburgh, &c. To be sure, these all *died* after the accession of the House of Hanover, and some of them acquired new laurels subsequently to that event,—but if *they* were *not* the worthies of Queen Anne's reign, we should like to know to *whom* our author would give that title? and if they were, we ask what becomes of his *distinction* between the reign of Queen Anne and the Georgian era? We, however, do not complain of this,—the distinction made in his preface is frivolous—that's all—and as these eminent men all *died* within the limit of his era, he had a perfect right to include them. But mark his consistency: when he comes to the other end of his tether, he reckons not by the death but by the birth, and a great portion of the work is occupied by persons—who being alive and merry at the demise of George IV.—should, according to the principle on which he set out, be reserved

reserved for the era,—the *Reform Era*, or whatever it may be hereafter called,—which commenced on the death of the late king. Of this incongruity, again, we do not complain: but we perceive that the author himself was so sensible of it, that he hit on a most amusing expedient for palliating the error. His whole *show* is suddenly stopped at the very moment of the death of George IV.—fifteen minutes past three o'clock of the morning of the 26th of June, 1830:—and like some pantomime that we have seen, all his *dramatis personæ* stand petrified—motionless and lifeless—in the same positions, attitudes, and habiliments in which they happened to be at that fatal hour. His Majesty King William is congealed as Duke of Clarence; the Duke of Wellington remains the immovable Prime Minister; Lord Chief Justice Tenterden still dispenses law in the King's Bench; the last line of the article on Mr. Brougham leaves him and the reader in a state of most painful suspense for the health of that gentleman's daughter,

'who is said to be in a state which gives her father, who is extremely fond of her, much uneasiness.'—vol. ii. p. 358.

And, what is not more ludicrous than literally true, Lord Grey is '*left speaking*' in defence of his 'ORDER,'—and *Lord John Russell* is in the act of uttering a conservative speech against Mr. O'Connell's wild projects of Parliamentary Reform:—

'His lordship's last important speech in parliament previously to the demise of George IV., was in opposition to Mr. O'Connell's motion for universal suffrage, declaring that he was *no friend to sweeping measures*, but an advocate ONLY for *moderate reform*.'—vol. i., p. 420.

Those readers, therefore, who put their sole trust in the *Georgian Era* must wait till another age shall produce a continuation of the work, before their feelings can be gratified, or their wonder excited, by hearing that Miss Brougham grew up to be a fine young woman,—that Lord Grey became hand and glove with Mr. Carpue and Mr. Place,—and that Lord John Russell turned out so *sweeping* a reformer as to throw even Hunt and Cobbett far into the rear!

Such inconsistencies and imperfections are inseparable from the awkward jumble of the dead and the living in one biographical work,—of which we believe this to be nearly the first specimen, as we are fully sure it will be the last. We have had some biographies of *living men*, and our neighbours the French have many; and very useful manuals they are; but they are essentially of a temporary nature, and should never be mingled with general biography; because works of reference, particularly when costly and voluminous, should be perfect in themselves, and not liable to

be turned into waste paper—(as the *Georgian Era* will assuredly be)—by the lapse of a very few years. But again—what can be more absurd than to assign to any work, which treats of the general current of human affairs, limits so purely accidental as the name of the prince on the throne.

> 'What's in a name? That which we call a *George*
> By any other name had *reigned* as well.'

If Frederick Prince of Wales had outlived George II., and so intervened, as the course of nature seemed to promise, between his father and his son, we should never have heard of the 'Georgian Era,'—though all the persons recorded in this 'Georgian Era' would have equally written, spoken, fought, pleaded and acted. Yet upon this mere accident of a *name*, this work is founded, and we verily believe that the book was made for the title, and not the title for the book.

But passing over these objections, which are inherent in the scheme itself, we revert to the advantage promised by the plan of placing the lives in classes and chronological order—which, however, the editor has contrived to defeat,—first, by an erroneous principle of arrangement, and secondly, by the most bungling and unpardonable negligence in the execution of that principle.

Although he includes many persons born as far back as the reign of Charles I., because they *died* under George I., he assumes, as the general basis of his chronological order, not the *deaths* but the *births*: this—having once committed the mistake of introducing living men into his catacombs—we admit that he could not avoid; but it seems to us that, for such a work as this affects to be, the arrangement by the order of *deaths* would be the most convenient, as best preserving the continuity of history. The busy

its close, in 1761; we then fall back upon Pelham, in 1743, and then spring forward twenty years to Mr. Grenville, in 1763. Derangements of this kind are, we are well aware, not to be altogether avoided, in any attempt to combine history with biography, but we are confident they would be less frequent and less serious, if the order of *death* was followed rather than that of *birth*.

We have thrown out these observations only for the consideration of those who may now or hereafter be engaged in such works; for as to the editor before us, though he affects to proceed by the order of birth, he has ingeniously contrived to keep no order at all. It may seem rather difficult to go astray in so plain a matter, but he has happily accomplished it; for when you have read through about three-fourths of every volume, and finished, as you think, all the classes it contains, you arrive at a page inscribed with the word *Appendix*, and then you begin again with another series of names arranged in similar order and under the same classes. This whimsical departure from the author's avowed principle is thus accounted for, in the preface to the first volume:—

'A *few* memoirs of eminent persons, *accidentally* omitted in the body of the work, are located in Appendices to the respective classes, at the end of each volume, among summary sketches of those who have been *mere satellites* to their more illustrious contemporaries.'—p. v.

This excuse, which appeared in the preface to the *first* volume, dated January, 1832, might be admitted for a hasty work, of which the materials were scattered and difficult of access, and in which it might be of little importance whether a particular piece of information was to be found in the body of the book or in the appendix; but for a work got up with so much apparent care—nine-tenths of the materials of which were already in print, and professing, as its *special distinction*, that every name was carefully arranged in chronological order—the apology is obviously insufficient. But what shall be said when we find the *second* volume, published at the interval of a year, with an advertisement stating that the delay had been occasioned by the editor's 'great anxiety for correctness'—what shall be said, when we find *this* volume also disfigured by a *wen* of appendix larger than the first—and when we find the *third* and *fourth* volumes, also published after another year's interval, each with appendices still more enormous—equivalent on the whole, in bulk, to not less than *one-fifth* of the entire work?

But these appendices contain, we are told, only 'a *few eminent* names *accidentally omitted*,' and their '*satellites*.' The editor and we might differ, perhaps, as to who should be called *eminent* and who

who *intellites*; but let us take, for example, a class in which eminence may be tolerably well measured, by tests on which there can be little dispute—the class of the Law. The *text* contains 50 lawyers, the *Appendix* no fewer than 53. Of these numbers—chancellors or chief judges of their respective courts, the *text* has 27, the *Appendix* 26; of puisne judges, the *text* has 7, the *Appendix* 8; and of eminent barristers, who had not attained the bench, the *text* has 16, and the *Appendix* 19. This affords, we think, a tolerable contradiction to the apologetical paragraph of the preface; and we need not pursue this part of the subject further than to state that, having taken the trouble of reckoning up all the articles in the *text* and the *appendices* respectively, we were astonished, as no doubt our readers will be, to find that the whole body of the work has but 844 names, while the *few*, omitted by accident, in the Appendix are no less than 1005!!! Verily the editor's veracity is quite equal to his modesty and diligence.

But all this inconsistency and confusion in the arrangement of the work, serious as they are, fade into nothing, before, as we stated in the outset, the incredible negligence, stupidity, arrogance, and ignorance with which the editor has put his materials together. He says he has *re-written all the articles*; if by this is meant that he has not borrowed and copied from the published biographies, the assertion is utterly untrue: he *has* borrowed and copied wholesale and retail; but if it only means to say that there are few of the lives in which he has not left indubitable traces of his own exquisite handywork, we admit the fact, and shall proceed to amuse our readers with some specimens of such '*adventurous exploring*,' '*judicious*' selection, '*unimpeachable* impartiality,' and '*laborious anxiety to secure the utmost possible correctness*,' as they

class of errors, but shall proceed to, we were about to say *graver*, but we should rather call them more *ridiculous*, though less excusable blunders.

We have not heard, nor have we the least guess, who or what 'the editor' and 'his assistants' are; we can see obvious traces of a variety of hands, though there is certainly one master-blunderer, whose genius pervades the whole work—*omne tetigit, nihil quod tetigit non ornavit.* Till we had proceeded a little way in his book, we really had no conception that any one not indebted—according to honest Dogberry's hypothesis—to nature alone for his reading and writing, could have been so entirely ignorant of the very rudiments of our national history, and of our vernacular literature. The compiler of the 'Lives of the Kit-Cat Club,' reviewed in our Twenty-sixth volume, p. 424, 'was a very pretty fellow in his way,' and made as good a hash as any one could do, of two or three dozen of names; but our present author has taken a larger field, and with a more than proportionate success—his work being fifty times more extensive, and an hundred times more erroneous and absurd. In selecting for our readers' amazement and amusement some specimens of this portentous mass of blunders, we hardly know where to begin, or how to present, in any thing like order, the disorderly profusion of the man's ignorance. We shall commence, however, with his *chronology*. The book being, in its substance and foundation, chronological, and professing to be a work of *reference*, we might expect that, at least, some slight attention had been paid to this point, particularly in cases where no '*adventurous exploring*' was necessary, and where the editor had only to make '*a judicious use*' of his eyes and fingers, in selecting from the learned stores of the *Biographical Dictionary*, and the recondite tomes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Nor shall the editor have to complain that we arraign him for small mistakes about obscure persons, for errors in lives before unwritten, or for distortion of anecdotes recently brought to light. Our examples shall be derived from well-known anecdotes of well-known men.

For instance, this editor states that the success of Sir Richard Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*, published in 1695,

> 'raised the animosity of Dryden, Pope, and in fact of almost all the literati of the age, who exerted their utmost talents to decry it.'—vol. iii. p. 243.

Pope tells us that 'he lisped in numbers,' but he must have done something still more wonderful in this instance, for he was but seven years old when our author represents him as thus leaguing with Dryden to decry 'Prince Arthur.' Equally precocious was his malignity against Bentley, for we are told (vol. iii. p. 253) that, at

at the breaking out of the Phalaris controversy, Pope came into 'a confederacy with Swift' and others to ridicule the pert critic, Pope being at this time an unknown schoolboy about ten years old.

'Dr. Delany became, *at a proper age*, a sizar of Trinity College, Dublin, where he formed a strict intimacy with Swift, who is said to have been much attached to him, on account of his playful disposition.'—vol. i. p. 496.

Our ingenious editor here gives us to understand, that the proper age for entering Dublin College is *under* TWO years,—for he had just stated that Delany was born in 1686, and Swift at Dublin in 1688. No wonder that Swift should have been amused by such a *playful* little academic.

'About the year 1759, Burke obtained an introduction to Mr. Edmund Hamilton, whose celebrated single speech was attributed to the powerful pen of Burke; but no good reason has been offered against the proud, fair presumption of its having been composed by the man who delivered it.'—vol. i. p. 330.

A most judicious observation—which we are delighted to corroborate by stating that the said celebrated speech was delivered in 1755, years, by his own statement, before Hamilton and Burke were even acquainted.

The editor seems to give credit to Thomas Hollis for great sagacity in having '*prophesied*, in 1754, the promotion of Mr. Pitt (now Chatham) to be Secretary of State.'—vol. iii. p. 24. Mr. Pitt has already been Secretary of State in 1756, and never resigned that office.

Our Editor seems incapable even of researches so little '*adventurous*' as the 'exploring' Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. He

Eldon did not hold the great seal till *twelve years* after the alleged abuse;—but the context and a reference to the parliamentary debates for what Lord Grey *did* say oblige us to conclude that our author really believed that Lord Eldon was Chancellor in 1789.

Whenever he mentions Ireland, his blunders are *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.* After stating Mr. Grattan's great popularity for his services in effecting the independence of Ireland in 1782, and Mr. Flood's opinion that Mr. Grattan had betrayed the national dignity, by contenting himself with the *simple repeal* of the obnoxious acts, he proceeds:—

'The Irish people eagerly adopted Flood's opinion, and Grattan soon found that his popularity was on the wane—the rival orators, during the political contest, descended to the most debasing scurrility and abuse. While Grattan animadverted on the broken beak and disastrous countenance of his opponent, Flood broadly insinuated that Grattan had betrayed his country for gold, and for prompt payment had sold himself to the minister. Lord Chancellor Clare denounced him as an infernal demagogue; the corporation of Dublin tore down his portrait with which they had previously adorned their hall, and indignantly expelled him from their body. He was, at length, by common consent, stigmatized as a traitor to liberty; and to complete the climax, the corporation of Cork decided "that the street which had been named *Grattan Street*, should in future be called *Duncan Street.*" In 1785, Grattan successfully opposed the propositions of *a* Mr. Ord,' &c.—vol. i. p. 362.

This really is marvellous! The disgraceful squabble between Flood and Grattan took place on the 28th Oct., 1783, and Mr. Grattan's popularity was certainly for some months impaired, though it was soon revived to its full extent by his opposition to the propositions produced in the House of Commons, in 1785, by Mr. Secretary Ord—(*a* Mr. Ord!). But the invective of Lord Clare—the censures of the corporations of Dublin and Cork, and the public disapprobation, by this writer attributed to the *simple repeal* question in 1783, were, in fact, the consequence of Mr. Grattan's indiscreet political conduct previous to and during the Irish rebellion of 1798,—the Georgian Era has only transposed the events fifteen years. If the editor was ignorant of all the Irish part of the story, we wonder that he should not have recollected that *Duncan's* victory, after which *Grattan Street* received its new name, was not achieved till 1797.

The life of Mr. Curran had been written by his son, but it has been '*re-written*' in a very original style by one of the authors of the Georgian Era.

'Mr. Curran's professional career was chiefly distinguished by his defence of the leaders of the *rebellion in* 1798. His most celebrated speeches

But there is another class of anachronisms equally wonderful, but rather more deliberately erroneous, which pervert not merely dates and facts, but sometimes confound the personal identity of very different parties.

The college friendship which the editor creates (i. 402) between Mr. Canning and the *first* Lord Liverpool, who had left college near twenty years before Canning was born, might be a slip of the pen of *first* for *second*, but such blunders as the following must be those of ignorance prepense. He confounds John Methuen, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died in 1706, with his son, Sir Paul Methuen, Knight of the Bath, who died in 1757—(i. 533.) He confounds the elder Craggs—the Postmaster General—with his son, the Secretary of State—(i. 536.) He confounds (i. 220) Chief Justice Foster, who died about 1720, with Mr. Foster, last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who died in 1828. We are aware, that into this last error he was led by a former biographer; but he had undertaken '*to rectify the errors of preceding writers*,'—instead of which, he has in almost every case repeated and enhanced them.

On the trial of Lord Lovat (1747), '*Lord Chancellor Talbot*' is represented as pronouncing a high panegyric on Lord Mansfield, then Mr. Murray, one of the managers of the prosecution—(ii. 280.) Of all the compliments ever paid to Lord Mansfield, and no one has received more, this was certainly the greatest, for Lord Chancellor Talbot must have risen from the dead to pronounce it. We regret, for the sake of Lord Mansfield's fame, to be obliged to explain, that the observation in question was made by the son of Lord Chancellor Talbot, some ten years after his father's decease.

'*Before proceeding to Constantinople*, Lady M. Wortley Montague made an experiment on her own children of inoculation for the small pox, a practice which she first introduced into *London*.'—vol. iii. p. 12.

Whether the editor supposed that Lady Mary inoculated her child (not children) before she left England, or only while on her way *to* Constantinople, we know not; but either supposition would be equally an error, though not of the same magnitude; for we have it under Lady Mary's own hand, that she inoculated her son after her *arrival at Constantinople*, in her country-house near that city:—what shall we think of an historian of the Georgian Era who has not read Lady Mary's Letters? Lady Mary was, he admits, an extraordinary woman, so much so that

'Mrs. Montague, *her mother-in-law*, used to describe her as one who neither thought, spoke, nor acted like any one else.'—vol. i., p. 13.

The Mrs. Montague who said this was also an extraordinary woman, but we do not see how she could have managed to be the mother

mother of Lady Mary's husband, who was at least thirty years older than herself. Here the editor has been led by his good nature into a slight mistake, and, because the *Biographical Dictionary* calls Mrs. Montague 'Lady Mary's *amiable relative*,' he thought, in '*entirely re-writing the lives*,' it might conduce to the honour of both parties, and could do no harm to any one, to represent her as her *mother-in-law*.

In the same style, 'Henry Bathurst, the present Bishop of Norwich,'—(who, by the way, is introduced into this collection of 'common persons' with the strange observation 'that he has no pretensions to eminence')—

'is the son of the Right Honourable Bragge Bathurst, and was born in 1744.'—vol. 2, p. 316.

Now here are no obscure persons—a cabinet minister, but lately deceased, and a living bishop—but, so far from being father and son as is stated, they were not even paternally of the same name or family; Mr. Charles Bragge having only, in 1804, assumed the name of Bathurst on the death of a maternal uncle's widow.

The minute accuracy with which Dr. Johnson's life is known, does not save even him from the Editor's omnipotent ignorance. He states, that in 1770, Doctors Stinton and Porteus, afterwards Bishop of London, published Archbishop Secker's Lectures,

'with a Memoir of the Author's life, written entirely by Porteus; which, on being reprinted separately, with additions, in 1798, is said to have been honoured with the approbation of Dr. Samuel Johnson.'—vol. 4, p. 343.

Every one also knows that Dr. Samuel Johnson, as our editor so accurately designates him, died in 1784, fourteen years before the separate publication of Porteus's Life of Secker; and what the [illegible]

But if our poor friend Kett was thus honoured by *anticipated* praise, we find—as all things in this world seem to be distributed on a system of *compensation*—that he was, equally unexpectedly, visited by some *posthumous* ridicule, for our author informs us, that Kett having

'in 1793 published a volume of poems which he afterwards took great pains to suppress, as they were calculated, in the opinion of his friends, to injure rather than enhance his literary reputation—in allusion to this circumstance, his fellow-collegian, Thomas Warton, wrote the following epigram, the point of which turns on a nasal peculiarity of Kett—

"Our Kett not a poet!—why how can you say so,
For if he's no Ovid, I'm sure he's a Naso!"'—vol. i., p. 522.

Here can be, at least, no error of the press, for Kett's '*Juvenile Poems*' were certainly published in 1793; while Thomas Warton—we have never heard of more than one poet of that name—died, as even the 'Georgian Era' states (vol. iii., p. 350), in 1790. But our author is sadly at sea about these Wartons—as indeed he is about everybody—for he describes Joseph Warton—whom he places in the Appendix amongst '*the satellites*'—as '*the son of the Rev. Thomas Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford*'—(vol. iii., p. 542). Joseph was born, he adds, in 1722; yet he had told us a few pages before that his father aforesaid 'Thomas, Professor of Poetry,' was born in 1728, six years after his imputed son. We, and all the rest of the world, had hitherto supposed that Thomas was the younger brother of Joseph.

We have in our notes *a hundred* similar instances of anachronism, but our limits warn us to proceed to specimens of some other classes of our editor's merits, and we shall begin with exhibiting his acquaintance with English literature, as evinced in his version of some of the most notorious and commonplace facts of our literary history.

In the account of Sir Richard Steele's life and works, he states, 'that the *Guardian* succeeded the *Tatler* in 1713,'—ignorant, it appears, that the *Spectator* intervened, nay—incredible as it may seem—ignorant that Steele had anything to do with the *Spectator*, to which—his best title to fame—the *only allusion* made in his biography is

'that in the play of the "Tender Husband," which appeared in 1704,*

* Even this is wrong—the 'Tender Husband' was first acted on the 23d of April, 1705. We notice this, because the 'Biographia Dramatica' and the 'Biographical Dictionary' date its appearance in 1703. Our authority is the voluminous 'History of the Stage,' to which we once before alluded (Quarterly Review, vol. lii., p. 171), and which it is but fair to say—(although we wonder that any one should have had the patience to compile, and the boldness to print, such a huge pandect of play-bills)—is very useful in settling small points of chronology.

Steele

In the account of Lord Treasurer Oxford, it is stated that he was

'an author himself, having published three *polemical* pamphlets, and "*A Letter to Swift for correcting and improving the English Language.*"' —vol. i. p. 267.

Harley never wrote any *polemical* pamphlet; three *political* ones are, indeed, attributed to him. But our readers will wonder what is meant by Lord Oxford's publishing 'A *Letter* to Swift for correcting and improving the Language.' We think we can explain the enigma. It happens that the 'Biographical Dictionary,' in giving the titles of Lord Oxford's pamphlets, adds, as a further proof of his literary taste, that Swift addressed *to* him 'A Letter, &c.' Our editor, in *his* mode of '*re-writing* all these lives from *original materials*,' glanced his eye over the passage in the 'Dictionary,' and finding, amidst Oxford's productions, mention of '*A Letter for correcting*, &c.' and having unfortunately never heard of the matter before, he boldly enrols Swift's Essay among the works of the Earl of Oxford! Much in the same way, having found in the same 'Biographical Dictionary' that Lord Oxford had been a patron and governor of the South Sea Company, he sagaciously observes,

'that Harley's *famous project* of the South Sea Company, which he fondly imagined would have relieved the nation from her difficulties, proves that he was not a wise man.'—vol. i., p. 267.

Thus confounding the South Sea *bubble*—which, many years after Harley had left public life, was concocted by some of his most virulent political opponents—with the institution of the *Company* which exists to this hour in the manner and for the purposes for which it was incorporated in 1710.

He talks of Dean Swift's '*work* on the Trinity,'—the Dean's *work* is only one sermon—an admirable one indeed—printed in the general collection of his works.

In the life of Warburton, he tells us—

'that his *next* GREAT work (after the "Divine Legation") was, "A Dissertation on the Origin of Books of Chivalry," relative to which, Pope, in a letter to the author, used the following expression, "I had not read two clauses before I cried out *Aut Erasmus aut Diabolus.*"' —vol. i. p. 230.

If the editor had looked at the passage he quotes from Pope, he would have found that this *great* work of Bishop Warburton's was only a *sheet added to Jervis's Preface to Don Quixote.*—See *Pope's Letter, 28th Dec.* 1742.

A still more wonderful blunder is the following:—

'Gilbert Wakefield next (after 1795) published a first volume of an edition

editions of Pope, but being *anticipated by Warburton*, proceeded no further.'—vol. iii. p. [illegible].

Anticipated indeed!—why, Warburton's edition was published before Wakefield was born!

If there be any man of whom ignorance is more unpardonable than another, it is Horace Walpole. He is the oracle of literary gossip, and not to know him argues oneself not merely unknown, but unworthy to be known. We have still amongst us the intimates of Horace Walpole; his profusion of letters has rendered even the internal details of his life familiar to every one. The writers in the Georgian Era alone know nothing about him, though they affect to re-write his life, and on twenty occasions to quote or copy him. We really almost doubt whether some of the dunces know who he was. For instance, it is said 'that the following story is related by *Lord Orford* in the *Works of Walpole*' (ii. 288). This writer seems not to know that *Orford* and *Walpole* were the same person; but if he did, the *bibliographical* mistake would be as great as the *biographical* one, for it does happen that the story was not related by him as *Lord Orford*, but as *Horace Walpole*; and the *Works*, when published, were not called those of *Horace Walpole*, but very properly by his last designation of *Lord Orford*. Small as this matter may seem, it required no small ingenuity to involve it in so great a confusion.

'A most important era of his (Horace Walpole's) life was the purchase of his villa at Strawberry Hill in 1747; here he occupied himself in the collection of paintings and curiosities; and having adorned and extended the size of his house, it became a very fashionable resort for the *literati* of the metropolis, to whom every summer he gave a daily entertainment.'—vol. iii. p. 330.

Now if there was any one thing which Walpole professed most

[redacted]

in some personal respects very *hardy*, and when his friends, seeing him walk about in all weathers without a hat and sit in drafts of air that would have given ordinary folks colds and rheumatisms, would notice his hardihood, he would say, 'My back is the same as my face, and my neck is like my nose:' meaning that, by a constant habit of exposure, his back and neck were no more obnoxious to cold than his nose or face. Again: Walpole's indignation at the publication in a newspaper of extracts from his 'Mysterious Mother,'

'seems to have been a piece of *hypocrisy and affectation*, as he had at that time printed the tragedy in the first volume of his collected works.'—*Ib.*

Walpole printed a few copies of this tragedy for his private friends, and no doubt meant that it should be re-published after his decease in his collected works; but is this any proof that his reluctance to see *pilfered extracts* published during his life, in a newspaper, was *affectation and hypocrisy?* Walpole certainly was affected and may have been a hypocrite, but undoubtedly Malagrida himself might be sincere in deprecating such a style of publication of one of his works, and the more sincere if he meditated an authentic, ungarbled publication. Then, the editor characterises Walpole's letter to Woodfall on this occasion, by the *contradictory* epithets of '*contemptuous* and *indignant*.' On the contrary, any one who will look into the 'Biographical Dictionary,' whence the Georgian Era has transferred and *transformed* the whole anecdote, will see that it was, as it is there stated, characteristic of Walpole's anxiety *to be* and not *to be known* as an author—but assuredly nothing like an expression of either contempt or indignation. In short, the writer in the Georgian Era knows just as much about the Earl of Orford as he does of the Earl of Oxford.

His acquaintance with the most common persons and most ordinary facts of our political history is equally admirable. He writes the life of Mr. Henry Pelham (vol. i. p. 295) without having discovered, and of course without revealing, that important secret, that Mr. Pelham was prime minister of the empire for near eleven years (1744-1754).

He says that on the accession of George II., Sir Robert Walpole, as an act of kindness, drew up the king's speech for Sir Spencer Compton, the intended minister (vol. i. p. 275)—a misstatement of Horace Walpole's anecdote, that Compton's having asked Walpole to do it afforded the latter (on the suggestion of the queen) the opportunity—not of helping Compton, but—of taking the government *for himself*, while Compton was put on the shelf with the title of Wilmington.

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He imagines that the proper designation of Lord Anson is *Lord George Anson*, as if that *junior fortunate* must had been the son of a duke or marquis of the patronymic of Anson;—and that this is not an error of the press is proved by its being repeated everywhere,—in the title to the life—in the life itself—in the particular index—and in the general index. With historical infirmity quite equal to his heraldic love, he tells us that Lord George Anson

"quitted his post at the Admiralty in November, 1756, owing to some strictures which had been made on his conduct relating to the loss of Minorca. He was, however, *honourably acquitted*."—vol. iii. p. 14.

Who would not suppose that Lord Anson had been forced to resign on personal charges, and, after trial, honourably acquitted? The truth is, that Lord Anson resigned on the general change of ministry in November, 1756—was never acquitted, because he never was tried—nor tried, because he was not accused;—and, on another ministerial change, he next year resumed his seat at the head of the Admiralty Board. It is no surprise to us to find this writer repeating the old story, that the ministry of 1757 were such monsters as to execute Byng to cover their own delinquency—(vol. ii. p. 169.) The ministry, in which Lord Anson was first Lord of the Admiralty, and whose delinquency was in question, went out of office, as we have just stated, in November, 1756, and the trial and execution of Byng took place under their successors and political opponents. No event, assuredly, could be less attributable to party vengeance than Byng's death, for he was accused by one set of ministers, and tried and executed by another.

He tells us that the impeachment of Lord Macclesfield originated in the *malice* of the Prince of Wales, whom he had offended,

however, loses some of its value when we recollect that the Bishop of Soder and Man has no seat in the House of Lords.

But it is not as to public men of the last century only that our editor shows such amazing ignorance—he is equally or indeed more astonishing as to his own contemporaries. He acquaints us

'that Sir George Murray was gazetted Secretary of State on the 21st June, 1828; but that on the 17th September of the same year he became a Commissioner for the affairs of India; and on the 28th October following was elected a *Fellow of the Medico-Botanical Society.*'—vol. ii. p. 114.

The anti-climax is charming:—

'Dalhousie, the great god of war,
Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Mar,'

was promotion compared to this heavy descent,—from being Secretary of State—to the India Board—and thence to the Medico-Botanical Society! but that is not the best of it. Sir George Murray, by being Secretary of State, became, *ipso facto*, one of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, in June, 1828; and the said Gazette of 17th September, though it recited his name with that of all the other *ex officio* members, was the notification *not* of Sir George Murray's but of Lord Ellenborough's appointment to that Board. Ridiculous as this blunder is, another of the same kind, but still more absurd, is made in a more notorious matter, and with regard to a still greater personage.

'On the 10th April, 1830, the Duke of Wellington was gazetted as one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer of Great Britain, and Lord High Treasurer of England.'—vol. ii. p. 138.

The Duke of Wellington had been, as everybody—even the writer of the Georgian Era—knows, gazetted as First Lord of the Treasury in January, 1828, above two years before. The person gazetted as a Lord of the Treasury on the 10th April, 1830, was not the Duke of Wellington, but *George Bankes, Esq.:* on this gentleman's being put into the commission, the names of all his fellow-commissioners, of course, were repeated, and thus this accurate historian was led to confound the Duke of Wellington with Mr. George Bankes, and to perplex his readers by a statement that his Grace became First Lord of the Treasury in April, 1830, though he had held that office ever since January, 1828. We do not here complain of the poor purblind style in which the whole life of the Duke is pilfered from better authorities, and which affords a remarkable instance of the writer's incapacity even to copy with decent resemblance what is before him; we at present are only exhibiting his mode of treating *notorious facts.* We add another blunder of this class, so extravagant as almost to defy belief.

 'In

Lord North never procured Pigot a seat in Parliament,—he was, we believe, never in Parliament till 1806, fourteen years after Lord North's death, which occurred in 1792, and not in 1802 as here stated. It is unnecessary to add that neither could Pigot have distinguished himself as a *senator* on Hastings's trial, for he was not a senator till eleven years after the conclusion of that tedious process.

Of Sir Lancelot Shadwell, the editor states—

'that he is by no means so distinguished a Vice-Chancellor as *many of his predecessors*,'—vol. ii. 552.

being clearly ignorant that the office is of recent creation, and that Sir Lancelot has had but *two* predecessors.

The following blunder has the merit of being droll. In enumerating the literary publications of the late Right Hon. George Rose, the editor, very characteristically, includes in the list of Mr. Rose's *works*

'thirty-seven volumes of the *Journals of the House of Lords!*'—vol. i. p. 350.

He who rests his own claims to literary merit on such a compilation as the Georgian Era, must look with admiration and envy on the AUTHOR *of thirty-seven volumes of Journals of the House of Lords.* One serious difference, however, there is between these works—*Mr. Rose's* thirty-seven volumes are models of accuracy, while we doubt whether there be one single important article in the Georgian Era which is not disfigured by some flagrant error.

We have, we fear, trespassed upon the patience of our readers; but there is one short topic more on which we think it necessary to say two or three words—the scholarship to which the editor occasionally makes no inconsiderable pretensions.

We have already said that we should not deal with errors which could by possibility be attributed solely to the printer; neither would we impeach our author's learning upon the mere misspelling of a Latin word; but when we find, in a work so neatly printed, so many Latin quotations miserably mangled, we must suspect such prominent and repeated errors to belong to the editor: for instance, *Nunquam antia*, i. 483—*Fuge omnes medicos atque omnimoda Medicamenta*, i. 500—*omnimoda* being clearly, in this writer's judgment, an adjective agreeing with *medicamenta*. He talks of Lye's edition of '*Junius Etymologicon*,' i. 292; and of Archbishop Potter's *Alexandra*, i. 212,—meaning, as we guess, his edition of Clemens Alexandrinus; and amongst Dr. Dodd's voluminous publications he enumerates

'Synopsis *Compendaria;* H. Grotii de Jure belli et pacis; S. Clarkii de Dei Existentiâ et Attributis; et J. Lockii de Intellectu Humano.' —vol. i. p. 247.

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There is, however, one passage which we think conclusively proves that we might safely attribute these blunders to sheer ignorance. It is stated in the Biographical Dictionary, that Tindal the sceptic 'went to Oxford, as boys too often do, a *rasa tabula*'—that is, with his mind a *blank*, and liable to be marked with the first impressions it should receive. When this passage was copied out for our learned editor, it seems to have sorely perplexed him: and, indeed, as he read it, 'a *vasa tabula*,' would have puzzled Cicero himself. The meaning, of course, our editor never attained, but, on turning to his dictionary, he found that *a* in Latin meant *from*, and that in this sense it should have a grave accent over it—thus *à*. He also found that the ablative case following *à* should be marked with a circumflex, thus, *vasâ tabulâ*; and accordingly he so marked it; and then, printing his fabricated Latin in a beautiful *italic type*, he triumphantly exhibits the passage thus—

'coming, as boys do, *à vasâ tabulâ*, to the university,' &c.—iii. 245.

which, it may be expedient to acquaint our female readers, is neither more nor less than utter nonsense.

It is now time to conclude—certainly not from lack of matter. We have on our notes *above two hundred* similar instances of negligence or ignorance, and have no doubt that we could produce three, or four, or five times as many; but we think it enough to have made a selection—from *all* classes and periods comprised in the work—of blunders in chronology, history, politics, and literature, which we believe are quite unparalleled in any other publication. We have been obliged to select our instances, not merely with regard to the intrinsic importance of the individual mistake quoted, but also with reference to its brevity and to its notoriety. In such an abundance it was necessary to select the

as to have hastened his death; and, it is added, that 'wine at length ceased to afford the necessary excitement, and he had recourse to *laudanum*, of which, an *eminent physician has assured us*, he sometimes took 200 drops at a dose!' (i. 386.) We boldly pronounce all this to be an *infamous falsehood*—and we *dare* and *defy* the editor to produce *any* physician, eminent or otherwise, who will state that Mr. Pitt ever took *one drop* of laudanum for the purpose of excitement. As to all the rest of his calumnies and misrepresentations, suffice it to say, that his judgment and credibility are quite on a par with his editorial accuracy. His observations are trite and vulgar, when they are not false or foolish—his anecdotes, childish; his temper seems to be sour; his principles, sectarian; and his language a mixture of meagre tautology and muddy bombast. He has a great reluctance to speak well of any noble, eminent, or distinguished person, but joyfully expatiates in praise of mediocrity, vulgarity, and vice.

It will not much alter the opinion which our readers have, probably, already conceived of this writer's truth and taste, to be told that he calls Dean Swift *a villain* (iii. 362)—thinks that, 'stripped of its ornaments, the sentiments of Pope's Essay on Man are commonplace, and the diction bombastic' (iii. 289)—that the Duke of Wellington 'looks pale and cold like an *aristocrat*' (ii. 104)—a word, by the way, used throughout the whole book in an opprobrious sense—that Lord Castlereagh's appearance was 'dull' and 'inelegant' (i. 400)—that King George IV.'s corpulency *diminished* as he advanced in years, but that at the middle period of his life 'he had been so enormously fat, that four life-guardsmen could not without difficulty lift him on horseback' (i. 124)—that an admiral had been engaged in several '*successful victories*,'—that a satirist was '*tremendously bitter*'—that one man was '*averse towards riding* in a coach'—that another '*dressed foppish*'—that a third '*committed* an act of generosity'—that a certain lawyer was '*presented with* a silk gown'—that 'an artist's manners were *boorish*, but *not* unpleasantly so'—that a poem on a *Plate-warmer* 'is more witty than *sublime*.' Every page teems with similar proprieties of sentiment and beauties of language.

It would, however, be unjust to the great number of characters which he grossly mistakes and disparages, if we did not give a few instances of his panegyric and applause:—

'Mr. Hazlitt was one of the most judicious, *able, and powerful* writers of his time. He is in his peculiar walk of literature *unrivalled*, and in the *very first* rank of philosophical critics. His essays are full of wisdom.'—vol. iii. p. 397.

To match this unrivalled critic and philosopher, he has a still more transcendant poet.

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[illegible]

By way of affording another and final measure of our author's judgment, we may adduce the relative importance which he assigns to various individuals: the soldier we have just mentioned has a more copious notice than Lord Lynedock, Lord Combermere, or Lord William Bentinck—Grimaldi the clown has about as long an article as Kemble—and a painter of the name of Robson a longer one than Sir Thomas Lawrence—Mr. Tierney is despatched in less time than either Alderman Waithman or Madame Vestris—Mr. Oxberry the player occupies an equal space with Lords Holland and Ripon united—Major Cartwright outweighs Lord Howe, General Wolfe, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie—Owen of Lanark extends over as many pages as Bishops Hoadly, Sherlock, Butler, and Newton—and Mr. Kean occupies a larger share of the Georgian Era than Lord Somers, Lord Townshend, and Lord Rodney, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Dr. James, Dr. Arbuthnot, Horace Walpole, Gray and Crabbe, *all put together*. It is well for those who have been hitherto called illustrious, that they had established their reputation prior to the new *weights and measures* of the 'Georgian Era.'

We have given this silly and impudent production much more space and attention than it intrinsically deserves; but if a work of this pretension, dealing with so many existing persons, were not contradicted and exposed at the moment, it might hereafter obtain a kind of authority, and the silence of contempt might be misconstrued into assent and confirmation.

Art. VIII.—1. *An Address to the Churchwardens, Guardians, Overseers of the Poor, and Rate-Payers of the Wingham Division of St. Augustine, in the County of Kent, on a Resolution adopted at a Meeting held at Wingham, on Thursday the 22d of January.* Canterbury. 1835.

2. *Two-and-Twenty Reasons for refusing Assent to the Proposition for instituting large Unions of Parishes, and the erection of Central Workhouses, particularly in the neighbourhood of Seven Oaks, in the County of Kent.* London. 1835.

3. *An Account of the Foundling Hospital in London, for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children.* London. 1835.

On the day the Poor-Law Amendment Act passed into a law, it occurred to us, that were we to go personally to any spot where it might be determined to bring the new code at once into operation, we should be enabled calmly to review the old condemned law

and nasty' in a clinker-built shed which adjoins it—yet not a bit the less on that account does it stand a monument of our inexplicable wealth, a top-heavy symbol of our prosperity, a picture of English policy; it is, in short, for the pauper what Greenwich Hospital is for the sailor.

Many of the Kentish poor-houses, which about forty years ago were simultaneously begotten by Gilbert's act, bear a strong family resemblance to the proud hero we have just described. Some are lofty, some low, but all are massive and costly; indeed, it would seem that, provided the plan was sufficiently expensive, no questions were asked. A considerable number of poor-houses, again, are composed of old farm-houses, more or less out of repair. Some are supported by props—many are really unsafe—several living alone in a field seem deserted by all but their own paupers—some stand tottering in a boggy lane, two miles from any dwelling—and in many cases they are so dilapidated, so bent by the prevailing wind, that it seems a problem whether the worn-out aged inmate will survive his wretched hovel, or it him! Without attempting to argue which of all these buildings is the most sensibly adapted to its object, we will only humbly observe, that all cannot be right. We might even say, that, as they are all different, if one should happen to be right, it would follow that all the rest must be wrong. However, bidding adieu to brick walls and mud ones, broad staircases and ladders, slated roofs and thatch, we will now proceed to enter these various dwellings.

In some of the largest of these habitations an attempt has evidently been made to classify and arrange the inmates, and, generally speaking, every apartment is exceedingly clean. In one large room are found sitting in silence a group of motionless worn-out men 'with age grown double,' but neither 'picking dry sticks' nor 'mumbling to themselves.' With nothing to do—with nothing to cheer them—with nothing in this world to hope for—with nothing to fear—gnarled into all sorts of attitudes, they look more like pieces of ship-timber than men. In another room are seen huddled together in similar attitudes a number of old exhausted women, clean, tidy, but speechless and deserted. Many, we learned, had seen brighter days, and in several instances we were informed that their relations (we will not insult them by calling them *friends*) were 'well off in the world;' but whenever we asked whether they were often visited, we invariably received the same reply, '*Oh, no! people seldom takes any notice of 'em after they once gets here.*'

In large airy bed-rooms (separate of course) were found men and women all bed-ridden. As we passed between two ranges of trestles almost touching each other, nothing was to be seen but a set

[illegible] wrinkled faces which seemed more dead than [illegible] had been lying there for years—many had been [illegible] poor-house for fourteen, fifteen, and eighteen years—[illegible] have any disorder—they were wanting nothing, [illegible] nothing, waiting for nothing but their death. As we pass[illegible] poor man, he said he knew he was dying, and, raising [illegible] from his pillow, he begged hard that 'little George' might [illegible] for; but the master, accustomed to such scenes, would [illegible] considered the request inadmissible, had not the Assistant [illegible] ventured rather strongly to enforce it.

The only instance, in all the poor-houses we visited, of [illegible] stranger attending upon its inmates, was in a large room [illegible] about thirty bed-ridden old females. On a trestle there was [illegible] woman who was not well—she was ill—very ill;—in fact, [illegible] dying. Her face was much flushed, she kept pulling at her [illegible] clothes, and, excepting in one direction, turn which way she [illegible] she seemed restless. The only attitude that appeared for a [illegible] to suit her was when she cast her eyes upon a fine healthy [illegible] lad, dressed in a smock-frock saturated with brown clay, [illegible] by her bedside. It was her son. Syllable by syllable, and [illegible] his finger helping him as he proceeded, he was attempting [illegible] to her the Bible. The job was almost more than he could [illegible] the eyes, however, never left his book for a moment, but [illegible] occasionally turned upon his face, and then upon the sacred [illegible] in his hand, the sight of both united seeming always to affect [illegible] a momentary ease amounting almost to pleasure.

In the Cookham Union-Workhouse we found the following group seated round a small fire:—

David Kettle aged 99
William Pinson [illegible] 99

ing the whole operation sat like the frozen corpses which in poleon's retreat from Moscow were found still in the attitude warming their hands round the white dead embers of their de- ted fire!

From these sad pictures of decrepitude we were generally con- cted into the apartment belonging to the able-bodied women, o were ordered to rise from their chairs in honour of the en- nce of strangers. In *their* robust outlines certainly no *wrinkles* re to be seen—whatever was their complaint they equally la- ured under it all—nature's simplest hieroglyphic sufficiently noted their state,

'And coming events cast their shadows before.'

djoining this room, there was always a den of convalescents—a ttle land flowing with milk and honey, which is easier imagined nan described. On descending the staircase, the next scene was room full of sturdy labourers out of work. In hob-nailed half- oots and dirty smock-frocks, they were generally sitting round a tove, with their faces scorched and half-roasted: as we passed hem they never rose from their seats, and had generally an over-fed, a mutinous, and an insubordinate appearance. A room full of girls from five to sixteen, and another of boys of about the same age, completed the arrangement. In some cases, they were said to be 'completely separated'—that is to say, they could not possibly meet without going up stairs, which 'was forbidden.' In other cases, they were, strange to say, separated only 'till dusk;' and in many instances their rooms were divided, but they met together, whenever it so pleased them, in the yards. Such is the general state of the *large* poor-houses of East Kent.

In the smaller ones, the minute classification we have mentioned has been found impossible: all that is effected is to put the males of all ages into one room, and all the females into another. In these cases, the old are teazed by the children, who are growled at when they talk, and scolded when they play, until they become cowed into silence. The able-bodied men are the noisy orators of the room; the children listen to their oaths, and, what is often much worse, to the substance of their conversation, while a poor idiot or two, hideously twisted, stands grinning at the scene, or, in spite of remonstrances, incessantly chattering to himself. In the women's hall, which is generally separated only by a passage from the men's, females of all characters and of all shapes live with infants, children, and young girls of all ages. We could carry the description of these two rooms much farther, but it would be painful to do so.

We forgot to mention that we often found a large attic in the roof, used as a dormitory for '*able-bodied labourers and their wives.*'

Each

Each bed was separated from its neighbour by an old blanket. In this society of 'low life above stairs,'—in this chance medley of 'les frères et les sœurs de la charité,'—it must be supposed that the ladies first modestly retired to their nests; yet we cannot help fancying that if husband A should happen unintentionally to make a mistake, the position of his shoes might perchance throw B, C, D, and the rest of the connubial alphabet, all wrong. Whether such a higgledy-piggledy arrangement be creditable or not to a civilized country it is not our present intention to inquire—suffice it to say, that it only forms part and parcel of a system.

In the small tottering hovels we have mentioned, we generally found seven or eight old people at the point of death, an able-bodied labourer or two, with a boy or a young girl, who, in answer to our inquiries was generally, before its innocent face, said to be 'only a love-child.' Sometimes we discovered but two or three inmates in these diminutive poor-huts:—there was always, however, a being termed 'The Governor;' and in one case we found only two paupers, one being 'His Excellency,' and the other his guest—

> 'And so his man Friday kept his house neat and tidy,
> For you know 'twas his duty to do so,
> Like brother and brother, who live one with another,
> So lived Friday and Robinson Crusoe.'

In these poor-houses, so falsely called *work*-houses, we found that the cost of keeping the paupers varied as widely as the character of the dwellings. As there at present exist in England about 500,000 in-door poor, the reader can calculate for himself that a single farthing per day, profusely expended upon each, amounts to rather more than 190,000*l.* a-year: this being the case, one would conceive that something like a fixed sum would

better than that given to our soldiers; he has vegetables at discretion; and especially in the large workhouses, it is declared with great pride that 'there is no stinting,' but that '*we gives 'em as much victuals as ever they can eat.*' It should, however, be observed that we detected a clause in this Act which it is only fair should be explained. It is very true, that the ploughman in the workhouse receives as much as ever he can eat—'*Provided always,*' says the unwritten code, 'that he clears his plate before he asks for more.' In order, therefore, to obtain a third edition of meat, he must previously manage to swallow greens and potatoes enough to choke a pig, and as he is confined to the sty with no other work to perform, our reader will not perhaps be surprised at our previous statement that the able-bodied pauper in the poor-house has the tight appearance of being over-fed.

But casting the ledger aside, admitting that poor-houses of all shapes are equally good,—that it is beneath the dignity of a wealthy nation to care whether the nation pays 2*s.* 2*d.* or 4*s.* 6*d.* for a pauper's fare, or whether such a being bursts himself or not,—supposing even that the poor-rates of this country were to be paid by our satellite the man in the moon,—let us for a moment consider what is the effect of this system of stall-fed charity, and what truth there is in those lines which pathetically declare

> 'How wide the limits stand
> Between a splendid and a happy land.

We have stated that in viewing with considerable attention some hundred workhouses, we found aged people of all descriptions,—those who had basked in prosperity as well as those who had known of this world nothing but its adversity,—alike deserted; and while they stood or rather lay before our eyes, we could not help feeling at each spot how mistaken had been the kindness which, by the smell of hot joints, had attracted so many poor, helpless parents to enter the gates of their parish poor-house, over which might too justly be inscribed—'Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.' As we gazed upon the poor dying pauper, lying deserted on his trestle, always (with the solitary exception we have mentioned) had we thought—

> 'Had he no friend, no daughter dear,
> His trembling voice to soothe and cheer?
> Had he no son?'

We wished we could have added—

> 'Aye, once he had,
> But he was dead!'

The coarse fact, however, was, that the fellow, far from being dead, was in a beer-shop, pointed out to him by a board which very imperfectly explains to us whether it is the beer or the peasant

[redacted]

pport, is not only to be an English 'pauper' but to be 'poor deed!'

The misfortune to the parent and son is mutual,—both sink; e beer-shop and the poor-house are alike destructive, they play to each other's hands;—the one entices the lad to desert his nother, the other fatally induces the mother to leave her son: bsolved from the duty of providing for his parent, *he* tries, encouraged by parliament, to distil happiness from strong beer; *she*, equally encouraged by the parish, expects to extract filial consolation from hot meat; both are deceived,—he becomes brutal, mutinous, demoralized,—she lingers without happiness, and dies deserted. We have painfully witnessed and deeply reflected on the scenes we have described, and we have no hesitation in declaring that in our humble opinion the late pauper system of in-door relief (totally regardless of its enormous expense) has, in the case of our aged poor, created infinitely more misery than it has alleviated.

Firmly believing that there exists on the surface of this earth no soil more congenial to the growth of every domestic virtue than the breast of the English peasant, it is but too true, that if thorns be found growing there instead of fruit,—if the crop be poisonous instead of being nutritive,—our political labourers, not the land, must be cursed. The ancient Greeks revered even the bones of *their* ancestors; we have taught our peasantry to bequeath their parents, blood, body, and bones to the workhouse.

With respect to the manner in which children have been systematically demoralized in many of our small poor-houses, the error, we conceive, speaks so clearly for itself, that we need not offer to be its advocate. A mixture, in about equal parts, (never mind a scruple or two,) of boys and girls, idle men, and abandoned women, can only by a miracle be unproductive of evil to society; we will, therefore, content ourselves with repeating a practical opinion which was thus expressed to us by a governor of twenty years' experience:—

'*When children,*' said Mr. Cadell, '*have been brought up in a work'us, they have never no disposition to shun a work'us.*'

It appears, therefore, that in all cases where children might have been made to provide for themselves, or might have been thrown on their relations for support, the parish has culpably attracted them to their ruin.

Having now treated of those two extremes—the aged pauper and the children of the poor-house—we will offer a few remarks on the mode by which the Kentish poor-houses cunningly manage to get possession also of their able-bodied inmates.

To induce a fine athletic fellow to barter independence for de-

 pendence,

Now, supposing a large body of labourers, barely able to provide for themselves, should, in going to their work, stop for a moment to read such a proclamation as we lately tore from the walls of one of the Kentish workhouses, we only ask what effect would it produce? With agitations of considerable surprise, our readers shall now learn what a variety of substantives and adjectives are requisite in order to advertise for a pauper's fare:—

'*Conditions of Contracts.*

'1. The contractors to furnish *warm, wholesome, sweet, clean, comfortable* beds, bedding, blankets, and sheets, and *good* sufficient shoes, hats, bonnets, caps, and wearing apparel of all kinds, as well linen as woollen; two things of each sort for every poor person admitted into the workhouse, suitable to their age and sex.

'2. The contractors to provide as many *servants* as shall be necessary for cooking and *serving* up the victuals; for washing, cleaning, and keeping in order the workhouses, and premises, and the poor therein, and *attending on them* when necessary.

'4. The contractors to provide and supply *good sweet wholesome fat* meat, and other articles of diet, in sufficient quantities for the consumption of the poor. The meat to consist of *good fat* beef, leg of mutton pieces, and chucks of *good* ox beef, and *good* wether mutton.

'4. The beer to be *good sound* small beer.

'5. The flour to be the *best* household flour.

'6. The bread to be the *best* second wheaten bread.

'7. The cheese to be *good* Gloucester cheese.

'8. The butter to be *good* and *clean*.

'9. All the other articles to be *good* in their respective kinds.

'10. No pork is to be given to the paupers (!) and no salt meat, only such as shall have been salted to preserve it from spoiling, and which shall be dressed within four days from the time of salting.'

But lest the pauper, from becoming tired of this homely fare, should threaten to quit the poor-house, the contractor is occasionally to furnish a nice little variety for him, as follows:—

'For every poor person, the following instead of the usual dinner allowance, shall be provided, viz.:—

'11. On Christmas day, fourteen ounces before cooked of *good* baked beef with vegetables—one pint of *strong* beer, and one pound of plum-pudding.

'12. On two days, in the summer, six ounces of bacon with green peas.

'15. On two other days, six ounces of bacon with beans.

'16. On four other days, *good* mackerel.

'17. On four other days, *good* fresh herrings.

'18. On six other days, *good* salt fish instead of meat.

'19. The pea-soup to be made according to the following receipt; and the assistant-overseer to see that the stipulated ingredients are all put in.'

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ell-educated men, but as the citizen-guardians out-vote them, ey have long agreed to absent themselves from the workhouse ourt. The fitting pride of this court is to stuff the pauper at e expense of the lean rate-payer; and on the day of our visiting eir workhouse we found that little puddle in a storm. The contractor had happened to furnish a batch of bread, nutritive, wholesome, and to any hungry man most excellent, but a shade darker han was deemed fit for a pauper. We will not say how very many degrees whiter it was than the bread we have eaten with the Russian and Prussian armies—we will merely observe, it was considerably whiter than the '*brown tommy*' of our own soldiers, or than that species of luxury known in our fashionable world by the enticing appellation of brown bread. The Canterbury-guardians, however, had declared it to be unfit for the paupers, and the governor had consequently been obliged to furnish them with white bread from one of the bakers of the town. The Assistant Commissioner not only greedily ate of this bread, but respectfully forwarded a loaf of it to the poor-law board, who probably requested Mr. Chadwick to digest it and report thereon. The contractor, however, having the whole batch on his hands, and from pride not choosing publicly to dispose of it, ordered it to be given to his pigs. On proceeding to the styes we found these sensible animals literally gorged with it. All but one were lying on their sides in their straw, grunting in dreams of plethoric ecstacy—a large hungry pie-bald hog had just received his share, and as, looking at the Poor-Law Commissioner, he stood crunching and munching this nice bread, there was something so irresistibly comic in his eye, something so sarcastic and satirical, something in its twinkle, that seemed to say—*De gustibus non est disputandum!*—'*Citizen-guardians for ever, and down with the poor-law amendment act!*'—that the contractor himself was seen to smile,—

> 'And the devil he smiled, for it put him in mind
> Of England's commercial prosperity!'

The general effect produced by this system may be sufficiently explained by a very few instances. Mr. Curling, the governor of Margate workhouse, declared in our hearing—

'I am an eye-witness that, by over-feeding the pauper, we have made the labouring classes discontented.'

He added,—

'During the fashionable season at Margate, the donkey-drivers, the fly-drivers, and hundreds who are employed by the London ladies, generally receive 24*s.* a week, but it is all spent in beer—there is no prudence, nothing saved; for the cant phrase among them is, *We have always the Mansion-house to go to.*'

We may observe that the cost of 204 in-door paupers at Margate

gate has amounted to about 2000*l.* a year. An overseer near Canterbury told us that a young man had for nearly a year been receiving 1*s.* 6*d.* a week from the parish, every Friday—that he always spent this money in hiring a gun to shoot with on Sunday—and that, whenever he received his money, he returned laughing with it in his hand to his fellow-workmen, saying, with much less elegance than truth, 'What a set of d—d fools they are!' Mr. John Davies, the overseer of St. Peter's, at Sandwich, said—

'They only wants to thrust themselves into the work'us, to get a bellyfull of good victuals and do nothing, *but I won't let 'em!*'

It will sound incredible, that the overseers themselves, as well as the governors of the workhouses, are perfectly sensible of the vice of this shocking system—but that such is the case the following extracts from certificates, addressed to the Assistant Commissioner by several of the most respectable of the governors, &c., on the 9th of February last, will clearly show:—

'Having been governor of the poor-house of this parish, and also clerk to the guardians, for fourteen years, I have had an opportunity of witnessing that the paupers in this house live a great deal better than many who are tradespeople, and who help to support them; and I am certain of the fact, that many of the independent labourers do not get meat once a week. The boatmen of this place, at present, are in a very distressed situation; and I think it is very often the case that they have no meat in the course of the week.

(Signed) A. B.'

'I have been guardian of this parish for seven years, and I am quite sure the paupers in the workhouse live better than one-third of the rate-payers of this parish; and I have very frequently said to parishioners, the people of our house live much too well, and that they are better off than half the inhabitants; but the reply was, "That is no business of yours."

(Signed) C. D.'

different collectors of the poor's rates; and am sure, that, out of the five hundred boatmen, none of them live so well as the people in our workhouse, and very few of the boatmen get meat at all.

(Signed) K. L.'

But if these letters do not, the Kentish fires throw quite light enough on the effects of this system. In no region it has been our fortune to visit have we ever seen a peasantry so completely disorganised. In no enemy's country that we have seen have we ever encountered the churlish demeanour which these men, as one meets them in their lanes, now assume. Perfectly uneducated—neither mechanics, manufacturers, nor artisans—in point of intellect little better than the horses they drive, they govern in a manner which is not very creditable to their superiors. Their system of robbing corn for their horses has, they believe, been almost sanctioned by custom into law; and as, with something like justice, they conceive they are entitled to be higher fed than the scale established for the pauper, nothing they *can* honestly gain can possibly be sufficient to make them contented. And yet the countenances of these country clods are strangely contrasted with their conduct. We would trust them with our life—in no country in the world are there to be seen infants, boys, and lads of more prepossessing appearance—honesty, simplicity, and courage adorn them; proving that they are the descendants of those who were once complimented by the remark that they were 'Non Angli sed Angeli.' Their women, like their hops, have ten thousand clinging, clasping, blooming, undulating beauties; and there seems to be no reason why, of their lovely native county, it should not still be said, 'Ex his, qui Cantium incolunt longè sunt beatissimi.' But it is not of their materials we complain, it is only of our own workmanship—our poor-laws have ruined them!

The curate of a Kentish village told us, that while he was that morning earnestly exhorting a poor family to abandon their depraved habits, the labourer rose from his chimney-corner, and told him, that 'If he did not quit the cottage that moment, he would kick him out.'

An association is at this moment forming among them to resist the Poor-Law Amendment Act, and, in fact, all other acts and deeds, as will appear by the following extract from a communication recently sent to London, by the rector, churchwardens, and overseers of Wittersham. After stating that 'the unions are in the habit of holding their meetings very frequently at various places in this neighbourhood,' they proceed to detail the following evidence, which a labourer had just given to his master:—

'He says, two men stand, one on each side of the door, with drawn

drawn swords in their hands: they that intend to be members are sworn in, blindfolded, to fight if they are wanted; and that two of the greatest men in London are at the head, and they send others into the country; and they say that they have enough men to crush all the rest now, if they like to do it. The man says, that he expects, before a month's time, that nearly all the parish will have joined it, and who do not like to join, they intend to compel: no parish-relief to be received by a member. The man says, that they intend that the king should have less, the parsons less, and the poor people more, to live on; and when I said that it was not of their power to make that alteration, he said he expected it would cause war. I asked the man if he thought they would take in any farmers as members of the union; he said, they would not admit farmers into the room, for they were against farmers."

It is impossible to read the rustic programme of this hob-nailed Parliament without a sense of ridicule and disgust: but ought there not to be also a deeper feeling of our own responsibility in having, by our sins of omission and commission, so largely contributed to the degradation of these uneducated and misguided men!

The Assistant Commissioner, having witnessed more of these scenes than we have time or inclination to detail, felt it his duty respectfully to address to the Poor-Law Commissioners a letter, from which we shall now make some extracts.

"During the inspection which I have made of one hundred and ninety-one parishes, I have very earnestly endeavoured to inform myself of the relative scale of diet between the pauper and the independent labourer; and, the result of my own observations having been in every instance corroborated without any hesitation, by the magistrates and parochial officers whose opinions I have asked, I feel that I have now sufficient authority to state to you, that as far as regards diet, in this county, the following is a fact which cannot be

'So far, therefore, as diet is concerned, the independent labourer, as well as the small rate-payer, exist with the pauper *above* them, instead of *below* them; and although a sense of honest pride induces them still to cling to their independent station, yet the double error of such a vicious system is—

'1st, That it encourages the labourer to become a pauper; and,

'2dly, That it discourages the pauper from becoming an independent labourer.

'I feel confident, that the parish-officers, as well as the magistrates, in all directions, would, if called upon, fully corroborate the foregoing statement, many of them having declared to me, that though their parish pays an annual subscription to a union, or receiving poor-house, yet they are afraid to send any labourers out of work there; the reason being, that the able-bodied paupers are fed so well in the workhouse, that if once labourers are sent there, they won't leave it.

'It will, I am sure, be evident to you, that were we to be totally regardless of the enormous expense of this system, yet, so long as it is permitted to exist, so long must the scale remain disorganized —so long will the number of paupers increase—the number of independent labourers diminish—until the fabric of our society, like a cone resting on its apex instead of its base, shall fall to the ground. But the remedy is, fortunately, as simple as the disorder is complicated; for, without interfering with the independent labourer or the small rate-payer, if we will but resolutely place the pauper *below* him, instead of allowing him to exist *above* him, he can thus only rise by gaining his own independence; while the independent labourer will no longer have an inducement to rise by becoming a pauper.

'Having had occasion, last week, to speak separately to the overseers of sixteen parishes, I took the opportunity of putting to them the following question; to which, every individual, without hearing what others had said, replied, without hesitation, as follows:—

'Q.—Supposing the pauper were henceforward to receive porridge for breakfast, bread and cheese or potatoes for dinner, and porridge for supper, do you consider he would, on such a diet, be as well off as independent labourers with large families?

'A.—Yes; *he would be better off.*'

'My own observation enables me most deliberately to concur in the above evidence, and seeing the mischievous effects as well as the injustice of such a system, I feel it my duty respectfully to recommend that public notice should as early as possible be given in this county, that from and after (say the first of May next), the diet of the pauper in the workhouse should no longer be better than that of the independent labourer, and, accordingly, that from the period stated it should consist of bread, porridge, cheese, and vegetables, with an allowance of meat only for people of above fifty-five years of age, or for such paupers as the medical attendant may recommend it.

'If what are commonly called the "*poor*" were really the *poorest* members

members of society, I feel confident that this county would not oppose the slightest reduction in their diet; but I have found the gentlemen, farmers, and especially the yeomen of Kent, so sensible the rise of the present system, that I am confident they entertain a manly feeling that it is false benevolence to disorganise society, forcibly obliging the small rate-payer to feed the pauper better than himself; and that it is injustice, and not charity, to raise men into idleness and dependence above the labourer who is maintaining his independence by the sweat of his brow.

"In most of the towns in this county (people there not being aware of what is passing in the country) I have observed that public charity has ignorantly bestowed its affections on "the *poor*" instead of on "the *poorer*" and on "the *poorest*" members of society; and, strangely, in such towns I hear great sympathy everywhere expressed for the pauper—very little for the independent labourer—and none at all for the small rate-payer, although, as I have already stated, the two latter classes are actually subsisting on less food than the idle inhabitant of the poor-house. By this class of townspeople considerable clamour would consequently be raised; but with so just and honest an object in view, such opposition I conceive need not be feared—particularly as it would cease as soon as the beneficial effects of the adjustment should have proved the reasons for which it had been ordered.

"With respect to the formation of large unions, you are aware that I am still presenting that object—at the same time it must be evident that no possible arrangement of bricks and mortar can possibly cure the evil of the late administration of the poor-laws, so long as you shall allow the dietary of the pauper to be superior to that of the small rate-payer and labourer."

The simple act of lowering the diet of the poor-house to at least the level of the independent labourer's fare, would, we believe,

repulsive, the rude, amorous ploughman will pause a little before he contracts a marriage which must ere long make him its inmate; whereas, if (as in the old system) his parish were to offer him not only the blooming girl of his heart, but heavy lumps of savoury food, the warm bribe, like the bride, must be irresistible. As soon as we shall have fortitude enough to make workhouse diet 'low', instead of high, not only will the labouring classes find a hundred excuses and ingenious expedients for not coming into 'the mansion,' but even among its inmates there will be invented similar excuses and similar expedients for quitting it; no one will come, no one will remain, if he can possibly help it. Society will thus be restored to a healthy state; in short, we appeal to every man of common sense—we go still higher—we ask, is there a philosopher or a mathematician in existence who can deny the pure truth of the two following axioms:—1st—That in the creation of every *sensible* poor-law system, the workhouse *must* possess a centrifugal, and not a centripetal influence; 2nd—That in every country under the sun, if x denote the situation of the independent labourer, x minus 1, and not x plus 1, *must* be the condition of the pauper; and that the only legitimate mode of bettering him is by raising the value of x?—Simple as these truths are, yet have we violated them both. We have made all our workhouses centripetal instead of centrifugal—we have raised the condition of the pauper, not only to $x+1$, but in many cases to $x+21$; and we seriously ask, has not the punishment of our offence been an annual fine, in the form of poor-rates, of more than seven millions?

'But,' exclaimed a metropolitan orator the other day, his hand constantly striking his stomach, (probably mistaking it for his heart,) '*shall it be said, gentlemen, that we feed our paupers on coarse food? God forbid! Is the cruel triumvirate of Somerset House to determine the minimum on which our trembling nature can subsist? God forbid!*'

We would ask the defenders (and, legion-like, they are many) of these pug-nosed principles, whether it ever occurred to them, instead of speechifying, to *relieve* the poor—by which expression we mean the industrious and the hard-working poor—for in such a charity they, as well as all of us, might most beneficently combine? Will they enter into a subscription for raising the condition of the independent labourer? Oh no! on the contrary, they drive their bargains with *him*, if it be merely for digging a sooty garden eighteen feet by seven, as hard as they are able. 'What has a peasant's family to do,' they exclaim, 'with the price of fowls, eggs, butter, pork, or anything else that he brings to market from his cottage or his sty?' But if they have to deal with the pauper instead of the labourer—if the parish purse, and not the

the orator's, be doomed to pay—if parish contracts are to be increased in proportion to the demands on parish charity—then it manfully argued in the vestry,—'*Gentlemen, as Britons, let us be liberal; as Englishmen, let us be profuse! Shall it be otherwise? God forbid!*' Of all the loathsome vices that disgrace our nature, none appear more odious and repulsive than when they dare assume the mask of a virtue; and contrasted with such pure charity, and such self-interested philanthropy as this—how simple, beautiful do those words of truth and religious benevolence sound to us, which sternly declare, 'For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat;'—again, 'The industrious eateth to the satisfaction of his appetite, but the belly of the sluggard shall want;'—and again, 'The sluggard will not plough because it is cold, therefore shall he beg in harvest, and have nothing.'

In one of the visits we made to a very large poor-house in East Kent, we particularly remarked among the motley group that surrounded us a tall, slender boy of about fourteen, whose eccentric history has just flitted across our memory. We shall place it here as an episode.

Some fifteen years ago, there entered the family of a wealthy individual, a young, industrious, Hebe-looking, Kentish girl, who embarked in life in the menial capacity of a housemaid. Her tables shone—her stairs grew cleaner and cleaner—not a spider could exist in her dominions—nothing complained of her but her mops and soap. Some praised her for one excellence, some for another; but all agreed that so charming a complexion had never been seen—it was a mixture, infusion, or suffusion of red roses and white ones—the colours of which seemed always on the move—the slightest fear made her look pale—the smallest joy

In a certain number of months—we regret to say, that the tail the figure happened to point upwards instead of downwards— was perhaps better it should do so than have no tail at all)— e wife was suddenly but safely delivered of a child, which the nd gardener hastened to caress the instant he heard its faint cry. was of course presented to him; but when the blanket was un-ɔlded—'*Angels and ministers of grace defend us!*'—HIS BABY ʌAS A BLACK ONE! The phenomenon was inexplicable—a hun-red times had the gardener grafted white roses on red ones, and ellow ones on pink ones; but never before had he heard of any ɔf his trade succeeding in making the lovely flower black!

For five years the child lived with its parents, and prospered. The honest gardener loved it—he laboured for its support—on returning from his work he longed to hear its cheerful voice.... and yet.... there was a bilious look about its eyes—it had an elastic trick of throwing about its arms—there was something so cold and clammy in its skin—at times it felt so like a toad, that the father himself began to croak!

Time would probably have mellowed these hoarse notes, but his fellow-labourers incessantly tormented him, until the man at last, in a state almost of phrenzy, appeared before the vestry to declare, that unless the parish would accept the child, he would fly to America, leaving it and its mother behind him, for that live with it any longer he could not! The parish guardians, for some time, attempted by reasoning to repel the expense, but no sooner did they make use of the blooming mother's own simple argument —namely, that just a week before her confinement she had unfortunately been frightened, dreadfully frightened, by a black man— than the gardener started forwards, dashed the cap from the head of the boy, and loudly exclaimed, 'Look here, gentlemen! do you mean to say that fear can turn hair into wool?' The appeal was unanswerable. The parish officers at once received the child, and for nine years they have very kindly supported it, under the name of Niggerfull John.

In several of the poor-houses of East Kent, the separation of man and wife has, without any disturbance, long been carried into effect; but wherever the rule had not been established, the commissioner was sturdily assailed by people of education, as well as of no education, who, with considerable ability, opposed the unpopular arguments by which he resolutely insisted on its necessity. The following is a specimen of the doctrines on both sides; in fact, it is a long-winded argument on the subject, between a young, ruddy, healthy labourer, and an emaciated representative of the Poor-Law Amendment Act:—

'*Labourer.*

Lab.—Because it is written, 'Those whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder.'

As. Com.—Have you any other reason?

Lab.—No, sir. I consider, that, in a Christian country, that argument is unanswerable.

As. Com. It is my painful duty most deliberately to refuse your request.

Lab.—Why, sir?

As. Com.—I might, I conceive—quite as fairly as you have done—decline to answer that question; but I prefer explaining to you, my friend, calmly and rationally, the grounds of a decision which, I repeat to you, is a painful one. The sentence of Holy Scripture which you have very correctly quoted, only alludes to divorce; it does not bear the interpretation you have given to it—namely, that a man, under all circumstances, is to sleep with his wife every night of his life; for, were that to be the case, it would be wicked, "in a Christian country," to imprison or transport a criminal without also imprisoning or transporting his wife.

Lab.—Sir, I am not a criminal; misfortune is not guilt.

As. Com.—Your observation is perfectly just, but, as an argument, it is false; for you did not demand permission to sleep with your wife, because you had been sober, because you had been careful, because you had been provident, but, properly enough, declining on these points to prove your own character, you claimed the right as one generally belonging to all men by scripture law; and you must surely see that you deserted your own argument, when you flew away from scripture to your private character. On which of these two foundations are you disposed to continue to support your argument? There is surely no violation of scripture in offering food, clothes, lodging, and firing to yourself, to your wife, and to your children! Permit me also to add, that in trying to prove to you that your quotation did not bear the general interpretation you have given to it, it was not my intention to class you among criminals. I only mentioned their case, to show you that your own argument (namely, that because you and your wife had been married, you could not, by any human law, be put asunder) was false.

Lab.—Well then, sir, I demand it on the score of humanity. It is possible I may have been thoughtless, but it is certain I am now unfortunate.

As. Com.—And in terms of humanity and reason I will reply to you. If you will observe and reflect for a moment on the artificial state of our society, you will see not only that a large proportion of men, from the highest down to the lowest, are occasionally separated from their wives; but that, if what you demand almost as a right, were even as a rule to be inflicted on society, it would be impossible for the business of this country to be carried on. Members of both houses of parliament, noblemen as well as gentlemen, who have estates and business in various counties—all people employed by government,

are poor? Have you ever, sir, known what it is to want food yourself?

As. Com.—Perhaps I have; but that can have nothing to do with your case; for I repeat to you, that you, your wife, and your five children, are to have not only food, but fire, clothes, and lodging, at the expense of others: but while the Poor Laws of England are thus generous to you, they must also be just to those who are forcibly obliged to support you; and therefore, while we relieve you, it is our duty, at the same time, to satisfy them that there exists a coercion of some sort to induce you to relieve them from poor-rates, which you must know amount to twelve, eighteen, twenty, and in some cases even to twenty-five shillings in the pound. But, my friend, the stern justice of acting towards you on this principle is not the only thing that we and you too ought to bear in mind. Instead of building huge Union Workhouses, we are going, in East Kent, economically to avail ourselves of those which already exist. The rooms of our old house are generally large, and to give one of these immense apartments to every pauper and his wife would, you must admit, be perfectly impossible. Supposing we were therefore to allow you to choose for yourself, you could only continue with your wife by an arrangement which has been very common in the old workhouses; that is to say, by dividing your bed by a blanket from the beds of ten or twelve other lusty labourers, who are as uxurious, which means that they are as fond of their wives as you are. Now if you value, as I am sure you do very highly, Elizabeth's modesty, I ask you, my friend, whether you ought ever to consent to such a disgusting arrangement? Whatever may be her poverty, do you think it advisable that she should be introduced to a scene, such as among savages would scarcely be tolerated? Do you think it proper for your little children to be contaminated by such an existence? and lastly, leaving your own feelings out of the question, do you think that *any* poor-law *amendment* act could honestly consent to sanction an arrangement which you must know has long tended to demoralize the poor? Even supposing that an immense new poor-house was to be built, composed of innumerable little cells, suited to the various sizes of different families, do you think it would be possible to congregate two or three hundred men, women, boys, girls, and infants, without creating wickedness of every sort? Supposing that, in consequence of having taken a few nights' refuge in such a den, an honest peasant should lose for ever the affections of his wife—or, for the remainder for his life, have occasion to look with shame upon his daughter—do you not think he would pay very dearly for the poisonous relief which his country, under the mask of charity, had insidiously administered to him? Is it not much better for the poor themselves, and much wiser in the government under which they live, that the inmates of every poor-house should be judiciously and sensibly classified, so as to ensure that misfortune be not productive of guilt? Ought they not to be restored to independence at least as virtuous as when, for a

 moment,

the sake of both, we will, therefore, allow him to say a few on the subject; and as the clause is decidedly, to say the f it, one of apparent severity, we shall, we hope, be ex- if we permit him to preface his arguments by wandering, noment, beyond the boundaries of East Kent.

says in his note-book now before us—' The merest of the History of the London Foundling Hospital, esta- l by Royal Charter in the year 1739, shows very remark- hat charitable error, like the acorn, is easily planted, but it has attained a century's growth, how difficult it is to it up! What was established as a *foundling-hospital,* o longer dares to call itself an *hospital for foundlings.* t exists; still its "fifty-four governors," its "six vice-pre- s," its "treasurer," and its "secretary," like Dervishes in ance, pompously bow to each other. Still the "organist" is tunes. Still the "chaplain," "reader," and "preachers," ough their services. Still the "clerk" mutters his amen. he "vergers" wear their gowns. Still the "building com- ," the "sub-committee," the "house committee," gravely m their inexplicable functions. Still (*vide* the printed report hospital) "Miss Bellchambers, Miss Lloyd, Mr. Goulden, 'yne, Mr. Atkins," &c. form "the choir." Still they chaunt, glee and harmony, appropriate melodies, all set to the tune 2*l.* per annum." Still the "house apothecary" mixes his Still the "storekeeper" arranges his checks. In this creation, "the medical officers, steward, matron, porter, man, master of the boys, gardener, messenger, tailor, two , laundress, housemaids, nurses of the wards, mistresses of ls, and gown maker," are still seen mathematically moving ir respective orbits.

etween an institution and the house, be that barn or palace, contains it, there exists this important difference, namely, that rmer can live long after it has nothing whatever to rest on; as, so soon as you destroy the foundation of the latter, down estly falls prostrate on the ground. If that splendid build- uriously called "the Foundling Hospital," because it now s to receive foundlings, and does not contain them, had had sis only half as much exploded as the fallacy of the institution lready been exposed, the fifty-four governors, in their re- ve committees, would have been seen mournfully wandering er about our streets, like Christmas gardeners following a cabbage; but the vitality of error is like that of the snake, hough you cut it into pieces, still it lives!

ow that experience has sternly taught us the practical results public receptacle for fatherless and motherless children,

[illegible] back at the following solemn decision [illegible] dated 6th April, 1736:—

"[illegible] the enabling the hospital for the [illegible] and deserted young children to receive [illegible] offered, is the only method to render [illegible] and general utility. . . . . [illegible] and general utility the assistance [illegible] That to render the said hospital [illegible] should be enabled to appoint proper [illegible] of this kingdom for the reception [illegible] children."

[illegible] voting to the Hospital, as its [illegible] pounds, the gates of the charity [illegible] on the 2nd of June, being the [illegible] hundred and seventeen babies [illegible] time to the 31st of December [illegible] of five thousand five hundred [illegible] gathered into our metropolitan [illegible] still boasts of a grand picture [illegible] with the 16th verse of the 18th [illegible] children to come unto me, and [illegible] chuckling with delight, and [illegible] with paternal pride, exultingly [illegible] extended its views the following [illegible] were instantly established [illegible] of county governors, county [illegible] in the management of these [illegible]

[illegible] hands now began to [illegible] stay-laces rose in value, pap

d it gravely decreed, that as babies really ought to have mothers, from henceforward from none but their mothers should babies received. All honest women are now denied admittance, on the ound that "the design of the foundation was to hide the shame of e mothers;" but those who happen to have children without usbands are rigidly examined by the committee, and if they can ucceed in showing that they are really guilty, a day is appointed n which they are doomed painfully to produce and abandon heir offspring,—to be re-christened, to be re-named, and, so long s they remain in the institution, never by their mothers to be seen igain.

'We do not object to cutting through the isthmus of Panama, or even that of Suez, but to sever the connexion between a mother and her child is a work of ingenuity, we humbly conceive, culpable exactly in proportion to its success. As no animal but man could invent such an arrangement, so no creature in existence but a wretched, fallen, lost woman could bear to assist, even under momentary anguish, in carrying it into effect. What would the tigress do, if, even by a charter, one were to attempt to deprive her of her cub? Under what mask of charity could one approach the wolf, to ask her for her young? What does the scream of the most timid bird mean when the urchin is robbing her of her nest? why, as he hurries homewards, does she hover round his thoughtless head; and why does she press daily against the iron cage that imprisons her chirping brood? But it seems that not only men, but grave associations of men, can devote themselves to degrade a poor woman's heart.

'As impressed with these feelings, we lately stood in the splendid square of this mistaken institution, we were politely informed by its secretary that we had before our eyes one of the topmost feathers in the cap of the British nation; that its immediate object was to seek out young women who had been seduced, and by accepting their offspring, to give them what, with an air of triumph, he called a SECOND CHANCE!!! Now, if the subject were not almost too serious, it might excite a smile to reflect for a moment on the very comical mistakes into which we invariably fall whenever we presume to condemn and alter the wise arrangements of Nature. It would no doubt have been in her power to have bestowed upon all women this "second chance;" she could, moreover, have granted to a lady's character as many lives as the cat is said to possess—but, for her own reason, she decreed it otherwise; her law is beneficently irrevocable,—no charter can evade it, no act of parliament has power to revoke it.

'But let us consider how this "second chance" system practically works. The young woman, after depositing her offspring and her secret,

secret, modestly retires to some distant county; that her maternal feelings must pursue her no one can deny, but her beauty also she carries with her, and in due time she begins to observe that her size and her countenance are alike admired. In short, to end a tolerable story, she at last finds herself at the altar, blushing obedience to some sober gentleman sentenced by charter to become initiated in this new-fangled doctrine of the "second chance." That such a trick in all countries has occasionally befallen very honest men is rather to be lamented by us than denied; but that in the great metropolis of England there should exist an incorporated association of fifty-four governors, an organist, a chaplain, three preachers, a building committee, a sub-committee, six choristers, an apothecary, a matron, a tailor, two cooks, and a gown-maker, for the sweet purpose of inflicting upon us by wholesale, and by chapters, these "second chances," indisputably proves that at least in London our notions of charity are as mystified as our climate.'

But to return to our subject and to East Kent. By far the most angry arguments urged there against the Poor Law Amendment Act were, as we have stated, against its bastardy clauses; and as these arguments have all appealed to the sympathy of our nature, they have naturally enough been apparently triumphant. The Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners, however, remain unshaken. 'It is so much easier' (the note-maker continues) 'to excite the passions than convince the judgment,—it is so much more popular to preach what is agreeable than what is right,—to reward even error than to punish it,—that it is not at all surprising that the chivalric weapons which have flown from ten thousand scabbards to defend the weaker, the lovelier, and the better sex, should have ended the contest by possession of the field. But the army is not always beaten that retires, and troops before

forward into futurity, poverty and hunger pursue her, or at least her melancholy lot is daily to eat the bread of affliction and to drink the tears of remorse."

'We confess that we feel very deeply the force of these observations; at the same time it must be evident that we should have dreaded (we hope we may say so fairly) to have stated one side of the question, unless we felt convinced that there was something to be said on the other. That the virtues of the weaker sex are the purest blessings which this world affords us,—that they were so intended to be by nature,—and that, like all her works, they have not been created in vain, it is not even necessary to admit. From our cradle to our grave,—in our infancy, our boyhood,—our zenith and our decline,—rejoicing at our prosperity, ever smiling in our adversity, there is, we all know, a satellite attending our orbit which, like our shadow, never leaves us, and which too often becomes itself a shadow when we are gone; but as the satellite shines with borrowed lustre, so does the character of a woman much depend upon the conduct of him whose fate she follows;—and if this be true, how deeply important it is for a nation to take especial care lest, by too much human legislation, it may (as ours has too often done) interfere with the wise arrangements of nature, whose motto with all her kindness has ever been, *Nemo me impunè lacesset!*

'Universally adored as woman is, yet it is an anomalous fact which no one can deny, that in every climate under the sun man appears as her open, avowed enemy—and strange as it may sound, the more he admires the treasure she possesses, the more anxious he is to deprive her of it—

"The lovely toy, so keenly sought,
Has lost its charms by being caught;
And every touch that wooed its stay
Has brush'd its brightest hues away!"

Now, if this arrangement were totally incomprehensible to us, yet surely it would not be altogether discreditable, were we to feel assured that the mysterious dispensation was benevolent and just.

'We have already observed, that with all her kindness, the punishments by which nature preserves her laws are irrevocably severe. Bestowing on us, with one hand, the enjoyment of health, with what severity does she, with the other, punish every intemperance which would destroy it—what human castigation, we beg leave to ask of some of our opponents, is equal to a fit of their gout? Compare a healthy peasant's cheeks with the livid countenance of a gin-drinker, and who can say that a magistrate's fine for drunkenness is as severe as hers? What admonition of a preacher is equal to the reproof of a guilty conscience? Even the sentence of

the law almost invariably rewarded her with a husband? Has not forcibly provided for her? Has not the oath it has extorted from her been frequently productive of perjury? Before the altar the ceremonies of marriage, churching, and christening, respectfully follow each other at awful intervals, or are they not now all jumbled together in a bag? Are the peasantry of England a more moral people in this respect than the Irish, among whom no Poor-laws exist? Has it not been indisputably proved, that our domestic servants are, as to this matter, by far the most moral among our lower classes; and has not this been produced by our own unrelenting rule of turning them out of our houses, in short, like Nature, abandoning those who misbehave? Has not that severity had a most beneficial effect? Can there be any harm in our acting nationally as we conscientiously act in our own homes?'

'If,' argues the Assistant Commissioner, 'it should be impossible for the defenders of the old law, and the revilers of the Poor-Law Amendment Act, satisfactorily to answer these questions, surely it must follow, that our theory, having been unsuccessful, is false; and standing before the world as we do, convicted of being incapable, on so delicate a subject, to legislate for ourselves, surely we ought, in penitence and submission, to fall back upon that simple law of nature, which has most sensibly decreed, that a woman after all is the best guardian of her own honour, and that the high rewards and severe punishments which naturally attend its preservation and its loss are the beneficent means of securing our happiness, and of maintaining the moral character of our country. That we have erred from a mistaken theory of charity and benevolence—that we have demoralized society, kindly desirous to improve it—that in scrubbing our morality we never meant to destroy its polish—that, by our old bastardy laws, we nobly intended to protect pretty women, just as we once thought how kind it would be to nurse infants for them in our national baby-house the Foundling Hospital—and just as we thought how benevolent it would be to raise the pauper above the independent labourer—it is highly consoling to reflect;—but the day of such follies has past. This country has no longer the apology of youth and inexperience—it is deeply stricken in years—age has brought with it experience, and by experience most dearly purchased, it enacted, in the Poor-Law Amendment Bill, the clause to which so much obloquy has attached, but which, we humbly conceive, rests on a foundation that cannot now be undermined by the weak tools of mistaken sympathy, or reversed by explosions of popular clamour.'

Having

ong enough to gain experience of some sort, but until he answered hat his name *was* Phillpotts, we certainly did think that he was not our man.

'Well, George, what shall it be?' we said to him, pointing to a large empty tumbler on the table. He replied that he was much obliged, but that he never drank at all, unless it was a glass of grog or so about eleven o'clock in the morning; and strange as it may sound, nothing that we could say could induce him to break through this odd arrangement. As the man sat perfectly at his ease, looking as if nothing could either elate or depress him, we had little difficulty in explaining to him what was our real object in wishing to know exactly how he and his comrades were faring. On our taking up a pencil to write down his answers, for a moment he paused, but the feeling, whatever it was, only dashed across his mind like the spray of a sea, and he afterwards cared no more for the piece of black-lead, than if it had been writing his epitaph.

In answer to our queries, he stated that he was sixty-one years of age, and had been on the water ever since he was ten years old. He had himself saved, in his lifetime, off the Goodwin Sands, rather more than a hundred men and women; and on this subject, no sooner did he enter into details, than it was evident that his mind was rich in pride and self-satisfaction. Nothing could be more creditable to human nature, nothing less arrogant, than the manly animation with which he exultingly described the various sets of fellow-creatures, of all nations, he had saved from drowning. Yet on the contra side of his ledger he kept as faithfully recorded the concluding history of those, whose vessels, it having been out of his power to approach, had foundered on the quicksands only a few fathoms from his eyes. In one instance, he said, that as the ship went down, they suddenly congregated on the forecastle like a swarm of bees; their shrieks, as they altogether sunk into eternity, seemed still to be sounding in his ears.

Once, after witnessing a scene of this sort, during a very heavy gale of wind, which had lasted three days, he stretched out to the southward, thinking that other vessels might be on the sands. As he was passing, at a great distance, a brig, which had foundered two days before, with all hands on board, its masts being, however, still above water, he suddenly observed and exclaimed, that there was something 'like lumps' on the foremast which seemed to move. He instantly bore down upon the wreck, and there found four sailors alive, lashed to the mast. With the greatest difficulty he and his crew saved them all. Their thirst (and he had nothing in the boat to give them) was, he said, quite dreadful. There had been with them a fifth man, but 'his heart had broken;' and his comrades seeing this, had managed to unlash him, and he fell into the breakers. In

In saving others, Phillpotts had more than once lost one or two of his own crew; and in one case he explained, with a tear actually standing in the corner of each eye, that he had lately put a couple of his men on board a vessel in distress, which in less than ten minutes was on the sands. His men, as well as the whole crew, were drowned before his eyes, all disappearing close to him. By inconsiderately pushing forwards to save his comrades, his boat got between two banks of sands, the wind blowing so strong upon them that it was utterly impossible to get back. For some time the three men who were with him insisted on trying to get out. 'But,' said Phillpotts, who was at the helm, 'I told 'em, my lads, we're only prolonging our misery, the sooner it's over the better!' The sea was breaking higher than a ship's mast over both banks, but they had nothing left but to steer right at their enemy.

On approaching the bank, an immense wave to windward broke, and by the force of the tempest was carried completely above their heads; the sea itself seemed to pass over them, or rather, like Pharaoh, they were between two. 'How we ever got over the bank,' said Phillpotts, who, for the first time in his narrative, seemed lost, confused, and incapable of expressing himself, 'I can tell no man!' After a considerable pause, he added, 'It was just God Almighty that saved us, and I shall always think so.'

On the surface of this globe, there is nowhere to be found so inhospitable a desert as the 'wide blue sea.' At any distance from land there is nothing in it for man to eat; nothing in it that he can drink. His tiny foot no sooner rests upon it, than he sinks into his grave; it grows neither flowers nor fruits; it offers monotony to the mind, restless motion to the body; and when, besides all this, one reflects that it is to the most fickle of the elements, the wind, that vessels of all sizes are to supplicate for assistance in sailing in every direction to their various destinations, it would almost seem that the ocean was divested of charms, and armed with storms, to prevent our being persuaded to enter its dominions. But though the situation of a vessel in a heavy gale of wind appears indescribably terrific, yet, practically speaking, its security is so great, that it is truly said ships seldom or ever founder in deep water, except from accident or inattention. How ships manage to get across that still region, that ideal line, which separates the opposite trade winds of each hemisphere; how a small box of men manage unlabelled to be buffetted for months up one side of a wave and down that of another; how they ever get out of the abysses into which they sink; and how, after such pitching and tossing, they reach in safety the very harbour in their native country from which they originally departed, can and ought only to be accounted for by acknowledging how

how truly it has been written, 'that the spirit of God moves upon the face of the waters.'

It is not, therefore, from the ocean itself that man has so much to fear; it can roar during the tempest, but its bark is worse than its bite; however, although the earth and water each afford to man a life of considerable security, yet there exists between these two elements an everlasting war, a dog and cat battle, a husband and wife contention, into which no passing vessel can enter with impunity; for of all the terrors of this world, there is surely no one greater than that of being on a lee-shore in a gale of wind, and in shallow water. On this account, it is natural enough that the fear of land is as strong in the sailor's heart as is his attachment to it; and when, homeward bound, he day after day approaches his own latitude, his love and his fear of his native shores increase as the distance between them diminishes. Two fates, the most opposite in their extremes, are shortly to await him. The sailor-boy fancifully pictures to himself that in a few short hours he will be once again nestling in his mother's arms. The able seaman better knows that it may be decreed for him, as it has been decreed for thousands, that in gaining his point he shall lose its object—that England, with all its verdure, may fade before his eyes, and

> 'While he sinks, without an arm to save,
> His country bloom, a garden and a grave!'

We suppose it is known to most of our readers that there exists, on the shores of Deal, a breed of amphibious human beings, whose peculiar profession it is to rush to the assistance of every vessel in distress. In moments of calm and sunshine, they stand listlessly on the shore, stagnant and dormant, like the ocean before them; but when every shopkeeper closes his door, when the old woman, with her umbrella turned inside out, feels that she must either lose it or go with it to heaven; when the reins of the mail-coachman are nearly blown from his hand, and his leaders have scarcely blood or breeding enough to face the storm; when the snow is drifting across the fields, seeking for a hedge-row against which it may sparkle and rest in peace; when whole families of the wealthy stop in their discourse to listen to the wind rumbling in their chimneys; when the sailor's wife, at her tea, hugs her infant to her arms; and, looking at its father, silently thanks heaven that he is on shore;—THEN has the moment arrived for the Deal boatmen to contend, one against another, to see whose boat shall first be launched into the tremendous surf. As the declivity of the beach is very steep, and as the greased rollers over which the keel descends are all placed ready for the attempt, they only wait a moment for what they call "a lull," and then cutting the rope, the bark, as gallantly as themselves, rushes

to

been thrown aboard, are one by one dragged by the boatmen through the surf, till the boat, being able to hold no more, they cut the only thread on which the hopes of the remainder had depended, and departing with their cargo, the rest are left to their fate.

But our readers will probably exclaim, 'What can all this have to do with the three Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales?' We reply, 'Is George Phillpotts, then, so soon forgotten? we have only verbally digressed from him—he sits still at our side.'

'Times have now altered with us!' with a look of calm melancholy, he observed; 'vessels now don't get 7*l.* a ton, where a few years ago they got 37*l.*' We asked him what a crew received for going off to a vessel. 'The boat that first gets to her,' he said, 'receives 25*s.* for going back and bringing off a pilot; if it blows a gale of wind it's three guineas; the other boats get nothing.'

'Well, Phillpotts,' we observed, 'we now want you to tell us honestly how it is you all manage to live?' He replied (we are copying verbatim from our Note-book), '*Many don't live at all! They only, as I call it, breathe! We often don't taste meat for a week together! Many that knock about for a couple of days, and when they come home they have nothing—that's the murder: single men can just live; for myself, I have not earned a shilling* (it was then the 2nd of February) *this year.*' After sitting in silence some time, he added, '*But I shan't be able to hold on much longer.*' By this he meant that he should be forced to end his days in Deal workhouse, which already contains nineteen old weather-beaten boatmen,* whom that same morning we had found, like other paupers confined to the house, sitting silently round a stove.

It is to be hoped that, while the Poor Law Commissioners perform the painful duty of fairly keeping the improvident sturdy pauper below the situation of the independent labourer, they will in no instance neglect to bring before the attention of the public, as an exception to the rule, every case of merit which has hitherto lain neglected in the mass; and, strongly impressed with this feeling, we earnestly submit to our readers in general, and to the

* The total number of Deal boatmen, or, as they are nicknamed 'Hovelers,' amounts to about five hundred; of these, none but the aged will consent to enter the workhouse; about seventy of their families are now receiving from the parish a weekly allowance, but the overseer stated that, in many instances, individuals accepting relief had sent to say that they could now do without it. It used for about two years, and until two years ago, to be the custom for any wives or children of the boatmen, who required relief, to be admitted into the workhouse twice every day, at meal times: this arrangement, however, was found to encourage dependence, and it was therefore changed for the present weekly allowance of bread and potatoes.

Over the fire-place there hung, in a frame, a large sheet of drawing-paper, on which were inscribed the names of these individuals. In fifty-two columns there had been weekly inserted, in their own respective hand-writings, the initials of every member who had for that week been present at the meeting; and that it had been reckoned highly creditable to be present, was evident from a glance at the constant attendance many had bestowed upon this self imposed duty of watching over their own parish affairs. A more respectable jury, a more honest and creditable-looking set of men we scarcely ever saw assembled together. A small bell hung from the ceiling, within reach of the chairman's hand, and as soon as he pulled it, the first weekly claimant (a woman) was forthcoming, and the following dialogue (which we copy from our Note-book) ensued :—

Chairman.—What is your application? *A.*—To be excused from paying poor-rate.

Chairman.—What are your earnings? *A.*—Sometimes I get a day's washing in the week, and sometimes two.

Chairman.—What is the average of your earnings per month? *A.*—Can't say.

A Vestryman—Is any person lodging with you? *A.*—Yes.

Q.—What do they pay you? *A.*—1*s.* 6*d.* per week.

Chairman.—You may leave the room. [She did so.] Well, gentlemen, you have heard the case, what is she to have?

A Vestryman.—She says she only gets work one day a week; all I can say is, whenever she is wanted, she can never be had.

Second Vestryman.—I propose it be granted.

Third Vestryman.—I second it.

Chairman.—Is there any amendment?

[There being no reply, the bell was rung, and the woman appeared, when the Chairman informed her that her demand was granted. As soon as she left the room, the second applicant entered—a tall, stout, hale man of about fifty.]

Chairman.—What do you ask? *A.*—Whatever, gentlemen, you choose to give me; but I must have support for my child.

A Vestryman.—Is it *your* child? *A.*—It is my *wife's.*

Second Vestryman.—What are you worth? *A.*—Gentlemen, I hope you won't ask a question of that sort; it is a delicate thing for a man to state exactly what he's worth. It is quite impossible for me to tell; all I know is, I can't support that child.

Third Vestryman.—That man is worth 300*l.* or 400*l.*: are you not? *A.*—Gentlemen, I hope you will not ask me a question of that sort.

Chairman.—We entertain no feelings of delicacy here; you come to us to ask relief, it is our duty not to give it unless you are in absolute

lute want. Is it true that you are worth 400*l.*? *A.*—Not 400*l.*, it may be 300*l.*: but, gentlemen, I can't well draw upon that.

Chairman.—You may leave the room.—[*Exit* Pauper.]—Well, gentlemen, you have heard the case; what do you propose?

Vestryman.—I propose that the case be dismissed.

Second Vestryman.—I second it.

Chairman.—Is there any amendment?

Third Vestryman.—That man is connected with the press. He will give us all the trouble he can!

[The chairman rang his bell, and the man again appeared.

Chairman.—The Court has heard your application, and has resolved that it be dismissed.

Pauper.—Then, gentlemen, I must see further into it.

Chairman.—You are perfectly at liberty to take what measures you think proper. You may leave the room. [*Re-Exit* Pauper.]

(The *Third Claimant* now entered.)

Chairman.—What do you ask? *A.*—3*s.*

What have you earned since last Wednesday? *A.*—But 1*s.* 3*d.*

What has your wife earned? *A.*—About 1*s.* 9*d.*

What does she do? *A.*—She carries a basket.

What do you do? *A.*—I do the same: last week I walked with it eighteen miles in one day, and did not get one farthing.

Chairman.—You may leave the room.—[*Exit* Pauper.]—Well, gentlemen, what do you propose?

Vestryman.—I propose that it be dismissed.

Second Vestryman.—I second it.

Third Vestryman.—The man, it appears, and his wife have only gained 3*s.*; I propose that he should have 2-2-2. (Meaning bread, flour, and potatoes.)

Fourth Vestryman.—I second it.

Chairman.—Those in favour of the first proposition hold up their

(*Fifth Claimant.*)

Chairman.—What do you ask?

[The man seemed much affected: he said he was sorry to appear before the gentlemen—that his leg was almost well, and that he hoped soon to be able to work.]

Chairman.—Well, gentlemen, you have heard the case; what is your opinion?

Vestryman.—I know that he is an honest man: I propose that he shall have, per week, half a gallon of flour and one gallon of potatoes, till the 18th of March next.

Vestryman.—I second it.

Chairman.—Is there any amendment?

[The bell was rung, the man entered, and he very gratefully accepted the relief.]

Many other cases were introduced, which it might be tedious to detail. Every one of the applicants seemed to be known to some, and most of them to all of the vestrymen. The most scrutiniziug inquiries were made; and, in several cases, attempts at imposition were detected, exposed, and the claim refused. In short, every applicant had the advantage of appearing before a well-educated jury of practical men, who, as far as we were capable of judging, seemed determined to administer justice with mercy.

As soon as the weekly claimants were finished, the bell was rung, and the inmates of the house were ordered to appear. Eight old men, with one able-bodied man, accordingly entered; and as soon as they were ranged in a row, the master of the workhouse was ordered to leave the room. Each man was asked if he had any complaint to make; they all replied in the negative. The bell was then rung for the master, who was asked if *he* had any complaint to prefer: he had none, and the party were dismissed.

The boys were then sent for, and in a similar manner ranged in a row. They were fed in the workhouse, but made to work every day for any who would employ them. Their earnings were inquired into, and the statement they made corresponded with the master's account. They were a fine-looking set of country lads, with not a depraved face among them—they had open countenances, large mouths, and big butter or bacon teeth. There were two chubby little creatures, with cheeks like roses; and when it came to their turn to answer whether they had any complaint to make, they laughed at the sentence, as if it had been Greek. The master had no complaint against them, except against the eldest, a lad of about seventeen, who, he said, 'Got out o' nights.' The

A Statement of the Monies expended in the Parish of Ashford, yearly from 1818–19 *to* 1834–35; *with an Account of the Weekly Relief in each Year.*

Date.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1818–19	Total Amount Expended	3450	15	1	Total Weekly Relief	1212	17	6
1819–20	" "	3347	12	9½	" "	1245	4	3
1820–21	" "	3189	10	0	" "	1238	18	6
1821–22	" "	3057	0	2½	" "	1193	14	0
1822–23	" "	2146	9	5	" "	862	17	6
1823–24	" "	1854	2	3½	" "	832	17	5
1824–25	" "	2436	6	6	" "	427	14	3
1825–26	" "	2285	4	6	" "	490	1	0
1826–27	" "	1658	15	5	" "	458	18	4
1827–28	" "	1492	10	11	" "	446	3	5
1828–29	" "	1965	17	3	" "	463	3	7
1829–30	" "	2056	6	1	" "	402	9	9
1830–31	" "	1828	8	7	" "	452	6	3
1831–32	" "	1505	10	10	" "	437	17	4
1832–33	" "	1575	2	4½	" "	441	19	4
1833–34	" "	1565	13	4	" "	435	19	4
1834–35	" "	1160	12	4	" "	358	19	1

RICHARD THORPE }
WILLIAM MORLEY } Overseers.

The above account speaks so plainly for itself, that it is almost needless to add, that if every parish, or if unions of parishes, had bestowed, or would even now determine to bestow, the same attention on their poor as the parish of Ashford, the Poor-Law Amendment Act might instantly be repealed, and its commissioners, their secretary, and their assistants scattered like chaff before the wind *: but we regret to say, that the parish of Ashford is but an oasis in the desert; and to those who know the country, we need but name the adjoining parish of Wye, in proof of the melancholy truth of our assertion.

As a contrast to the select vestry of Ashford, we will merely mention, that a few days after we witnessed the creditable scene we have described, the commissioner called upon the overseer of a parish not fifty miles from the place, to inquire why he had not filled up the return which had been required of him, and which all the other overseers had completed. The poor man, (a total stranger to the Commissioner), who was dressed in a dirty smock-frock, actually shed tears as he delivered his explanation, which was verbatim as follows:

'Sir! the captain wants to go to church in his carriage through the little gate that the corpses go through—there's a great gate agin the little one—the alderman won't let it be unlocked, and there's no

* The select vestry of Minster in Sheppy (formed only two years ago), assisted by its most able chairman, G. B. Chambers, Esq. succeeded the very first year in reducing the poor-rates from 8222*l.* to 6237*l.*; and there will be this year a still further reduction of about 1000*l.*

friendship

was evident to the commissioner that he had reached a bazaar of considerable importance. Three hundred loaves were sitting on the shelves—more than two sheep were hanging in joints—bacon, groceries, and draperies of all sorts filled up the interstices—and with these articles arrayed in evidence before his visiter, the officer confessed that, besides being overseer of the parish, he was a farmer, a miller, a baker, a butcher, a grocer, a draper, and a general dealer in all sorts of provisions and clothing. With this scene before his eyes, it was impossible for the commissioner to help silently comparing in his own mind the thriving business of the overseer, with the profuse expenditure and hectic symptoms of the parish funds; and, indeed, the parochial books, as they lay on the counter, seemed to hint that between the parish account and the shop account, there existed a consanguinity—in fact that they were cousins barely once removed. A few days afterwards the commissioner unexpectedly appeared at the vestry, held as usual at the public-house, and as soon as the pipes and ale were finished, the business of the day commenced. As the paupers successively appeared, their cases were heard, and in every instance they were desired to attend '*at the shop*' the following morning, when the decision of the vestry would be communicated to them—this had been the constant practice.

On arriving 'at the shop,' the pauper was freely permitted, if he chose, to receive the whole of the relief ordered by the parish for his support IN MONEY; but, odd as it may sound, he generally found out that somehow or other he happened to be in debt at this very shop—and, by all of his class, moreover, it had long been remarked, that they were dealt with by the vestry according to their docility at the shop. The sum of 1200*l.* a year transferred from rate-payer to rate-receiver had thus annually passed over the overseer's own counter; and if, as was generally said, his goods had been sold at forty per cent. above the usual price, it was not surprising he had made no complaint against the inconvenience of such an arrangement.

The overseer himself confessed, that the paupers were sometimes in his debt for half-a-year's wages, but as on his counter there was also lying the book of 'casual relief,' the parish was the shopman's security, and so what the vestry did not decree to his creditors, he himself had the honour to award!

The overseer, besides thus picking up the crumbs which fell from the rich table of the parish, was also the proprietor of fourteen cottages, the rent of which was paid by the parish, that is to say, by himself to himself!

It may appear strange, and 'passing strange it is,' that this man should have managed to maintain his influence in the vestry; but the

The above case, duly attested, being forwarded to the Poor-Law Commissioners for England and Wales, they deemed it their duty to order that this overseer should instantly be dismissed. No sooner did he fall from his exalted station, than the base feelings which his own demoralising system had created unkindly turned upon him; among the lower orders there was left no sentiment of generosity to pardon his errors—no disposition to overlook his frailty—no creditable reluctance against trampling on a fallen foe—the poor wretch fell a victim to vices of his own creation—his life became a burden to him, and with very great regret we add, he has just ended his career by suicide!

In many cases, on calling on the overseers, the assistant-commissioner found that the parish account was kept by their wives! In one instance, on his insisting to see the 'laird his-sel',' the old lady answered that he was forty miles off at sea, fishing; and it turned out that this was the man's regular trade.

In another instance, calling on a fine healthy yeoman who had neglected to make out his return, the commissioner found he was out; but a man with a flail in his hand, protruding his red-hot face from a barn-door, explained that *the gemman* might easily see the parish accounts, as the person who kept them was within. The *gemman* accordingly dismounted, entered a most excellent house, and in less than five minutes found himself in a carpeted parlour, seated at a large oak table, with the parish accountant on a bench at his side. She was the yeoman's sister, a fine ruddy, healthy, blooming, bouncing girl of eighteen. As her plump red finger went down the items, it was constantly deserting its official duty to lay aside a profusion of long black cork-screw ringlets, which occasionally gambolled before her visitor's eyes. She had evidently taken great pains to separate, as cleverly as she could, the motley claimants on the parish purse, just as her brother had divided his lambs from his pigs, and his sheep from his cows. She had one long list of 'labourers with families;' 'widows' were demurely placed in one corner of her ledger; 'cesses' stood in another; 'vagrants or trampers' crossed one page; those receiving 'constant relief' sat still in another; at last the accountant came to two very long lists—one was composed of what she called '*low* women'—the other, veiled by her curls, she modestly muttered were '*hilly* jittimites.'

An assistant commissioner observing, in a parish book, constantly repeated the charge of 'for sparrows 2*s.* 6*d.*,' ventured to inquire what was allowed for destroying them? 'Why, 4*d.* a dozen!' the overseer instantly replied; but how it had happened that the parish gun always killed exactly half a crown's worth, never more or never less, the man in office could only explain

ow many persons he was serving up dinner; in fact, how paupers there were in his house? The man could not tell, aid he would 'send and ask Mrs. Smith, because she be got nderful memory, and will recollect all about it.' This Mrs. h was an old blind pauper, who at the moment was up two of stairs. On descending, and on hobbling into the room, instantly solved the problem, by stating that there were thirty-n people in the house.

n one instance, an assistant overseer replied, repeated, and per-ed, to the commissioner, that his parish had 'no *population*.' urned out he did not know the meaning of the abstruse word. n a large poor-house, the commissioner, wishing to know ctly how the paupers were fed, desired the governor to pro-ce his 'dietary.' His excellency hesitated so much, that the mmissioner suspected he had not got one; the governor per-sted that he had, but said he could not possibly bring it into e vestry-room, for it was a fixture! 'Well,' said the commis-oner, 'if the dietary cannot come to us, let us go to the ietary!' The governor slowly led the way, until he reached the reat hall, when, pointing to a thing about 18 feet by 4, he said, Here it is, sir!' It was the paupers' dining-table!

As a national jest-book, the history of our parishes, and the contents of their ledgers, stand, we must confess, unrivalled; but 'when we reflect that the sum total of this expenditure has annually exceeded seven millions, that the poor-rates of any country are the symbol of its improvidence, and the sure signal of its distress, we must,' says an Assistant-Commissioner, 'also admit that there exists in the history of our kingdom nothing more sorrowful, nothing more discreditable than our late poor-law system.' Supposing that any person were gravely to inform a serious, sensible, right-minded body of commercial men, say, for instance, the partners in Coutts's bank, that there existed, in a certain part of this globe, an establishment, the annual receipts of which amounted very nearly to the enormous sum of eight millions, to be collected as well as expended in small sums, as changeable as, and actually influenced by, the weather;—that this immense establishment had no officers of any sort at its head, no well-educated, responsible people to overlook its general management, to govern or control its expenditure;—that there were no people appointed to audit these accounts, but that the whole capital, left to the dictates of almost any one's heart, was governed by no man's head;—that in executing the duties of this immense business, particularly as regarded both the collection and expenditure of its income, it was exceedingly popular to act wrong, excessively unpopular to act right, yet that such duties were imposed upon

eccentrically unequal, it would be quite impossible to bring under the new system, or under any one system which d be devised. In one instance there were only seven indivi- s in the whole parish, in another only fifteen; three other shes united did not amount to a hundred souls; twenty of parishes were below 100; there were fifty-one below 300; le in the larger parishes the population amounted to 1,200, 00, and in some cases to 5,000.

It being impossible, therefore, advantageously to give to each rish any government which could enable it independently to ke its part in a general system of amended administration, it peared advisable—particularly for the small parishes, which uld afford no independent government whatever—that the whole unty should be grouped into convenient unions of parishes, hich, by a subscription from each, to be fairly levied only in pro- ortion to its late actual expenditure, might be governed with a ue regard to economy, and with a sensible but humane provision or the poor; in short, it seemed that it would be generally advan- ageous that the parishes, which, like loose sticks, were lying scat- tered over the country, should be gathered together in faggots for the benefit of all parties. But there appeared, at first, to be many difficulties in carrying this plan into execution—for, besides the eccentric shapes of the parishes, there were other lines equally jagged, which to a certain degree it seemed necessary to attend to. We allude to the divisions of the Lathes, the divisions of the hundreds, the dominion of the Cinque-ports, the corporate boun- daries, and last, though not least, the magisterial divisions of the county. The Island of Sheppey, the Isle of Thanet, Oxney Island, and Romney Marsh, had also limits which it appeared equally advisable to attend to. On entering into a scrutiny of all these various divisions and sub-divisions, it turned out, however, that several were of little importance. The boundaries, for instance, of the hundreds were in many cases almost obsolete. Some of the corporate proved to possess a smaller population than many of the county parishes. With the Cinque-ports, from their locality, it would not be necessary to interfere, and the boundaries of the Lathes and of the magisterial divisions proved to be in many cases identical. The boundaries, therefore, which on reflection it seemed more advisable to follow were the magisterial divisions of the county. In grouping the parishes into unions, it seemed not only advantageous, particularly for the poor, that they should continue to remain under the parental government of their own magistrates—of those they had all their lives been accustomed to respect—but that it would be exceedingly inconvenient to the parish officers of a union if they had weekly to transact business with

he could get to his own union at Eastry! The pauper Valmer, after walking above three miles, actually passed ite of the Martin Union workhouse, and then had five weary miles to trudge, in order to get to the workhouse at , to which he has been irrationally sentenced to belong. of the old unions belonged to three different benches of ma- tes; and a number of parishes were so remote from their houses, that it was banishment to the pauper to send him .

he assistant commissioner had, consequently, the double duty rming and of unforming unions, and though it at first appeared the regular mode of proceeding would be to attempt to level old unions before it should be proposed to build up the new s, yet on reflection, for the following reason, it was determined pursuing the contrary course. It was perfectly evident to the nmissioner, and indeed to every body, that there existed in county a considerable prejudice against, or rather an utter orance of, the new law; and in order to encounter that pre- dice, it seemed better that he should appeal to large bodies of en, among whom he would at least have the advantage of eeting with many well-educated persons, whose presence would robably smother the expressions of narrow interests, than to risk n application to the petty tribunal of the guardians of the old nions. It appeared better he should commence his labours by ecommending the formation of new unions, armed by the power e openly possessed under the new act of carrying them (unless good reasons were shown to the contrary) into effect, than defence- lessly to sue, in *formâ pauperis*, for permission to dissolve existing unions, some of which might, or might not, be cemented by private rather than public interests. It was evident that if he should happen to succeed in his large meetings, his success would carry with it considerable weight in the minds of the guardians, whereas their approbation would avail him nothing before the county at large; while, on the other hand, their rejection of his proposition would practically amount to its final condemnation.

As his project was to divide the magisterial divisions into unions, by circular letters he separately collected together the magistrates, parochial officers, and principal rate-payers of every division in East Kent.

As the subject was one of intense interest, these meetings were attended by almost every magistrate in the county, by many of the clergy, and by all the parish-officers; and when it is stated that the magisterial divisions in East Kent are composed of fifty-six, fifty, forty-two, twenty-five, and twenty-six parishes, it may easily be conceived that the assemblage was so large, that it was, in

ignorance and partly from self-interest, actually threatened punishment those who were still uncontaminated by the disease. o the provident labourer they exclaimed, "You shall have no , for your dress and decent appearance show that you have been y of saving money from your labour; subsist, therefore, upon you have saved, until you have sunk to the level of those who, aving been careless of the future, have become entitled more you to our relief!"

'You have no family," they said to the prudent labourer, who refrained from marrying because he had not the means of pro- ng for children—"you have no family, and the farmer there- must not employ you until we have found occupation for those have children. Marry without means!—prove to us that you e been improvident!—satisfy us that you have created children you e not power to support!—and the more children you produce, the re you shall receive!"

To those who felt disposed to set the laws of their country at iance,—"Why fear the laws?—the English *pauper* is better fed in the independent labourer—the *suspected thief* receives in jail nsiderably more food than *the pauper*—the *convicted thief* receives ll more—and the *transported felon* receives every day *very nearly ree times as much food as the honest, independent peasant!*"

'While this dreadful system was thus corrupting the principles of e English labourer, it was working, if possible, still harder to effect e demoralization of the weaker sex. On returning home from his ork, vain was it for the peasant to spend his evening in instilling nto the mind of his child that old-fashioned doctrine, that if she ceased o be virtuous she would cease to be respected—that if she ceased to e respected she would be abandoned by the world—that her days would pass in shame and indigence, and that she would bring her father's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

'"No such cruelty shall befall you," whispered the poor-laws in her ear: "abandoned, indeed! you shall *not* be abandoned—concede, and you shall be married; and even if your seducer should refuse to go with you to the altar, he or your parish shall make you such an allowance, that if you will but repeat and repeat the offence, you will at last, by dint of illegitimate children, establish an income which will make you a marketable and a marriageable commodity. With these advantages before you, do not wait for a seducer—be one yourself!"

'To the young female who recoiled with horror from this advice, the following arguments were used:—"If you do insist on following your parents' precepts instead of ours—don't wait till you can provide for a family, but marry!—the parish shall support you; and remember that the law says, the more children you bring into the world, without the means of providing for them, the richer you shall be!—"

'To the most depraved portion of the sex—"Swear!—we insist upon your swearing—who is the father of your child. Never mind how irregular your conduct may have been; fix upon a father; for the

timate offspring;—their prayer for relief will at once be granted; f such people presume to disorganise society by raising their v heads above the honest, virtuous peasant-woman and her child- then the bill will grind them down, but only till they reach their er station. With the same impartial justice, should people in a h higher class endeavour to maintain an exalted station, and at same time draw illicit assistance from the poor-rates, thus secretly ting on money which has been collected from rate-payers infinitely rer than themselves—then will the machinery of the new bill come kly into action, while exclamations against its grinding nature be uttered and advocated in vain. To every sober, reflecting d, it must surely be evident that the substitution of the present act parliament for the late one will slowly, but most surely, confer stimable advantages on our society in general, and on the provi- nt, industrious, and independent labourer in particular. All that gains will in future be his own—he will no longer be afraid of pearing decent and cleanly in his person—with honest pride he may w display the little earnings of his industry, without fear that they ill throw him out of work—and from his example, his children will uickly learn, that in England honesty has become once again the best olicy.

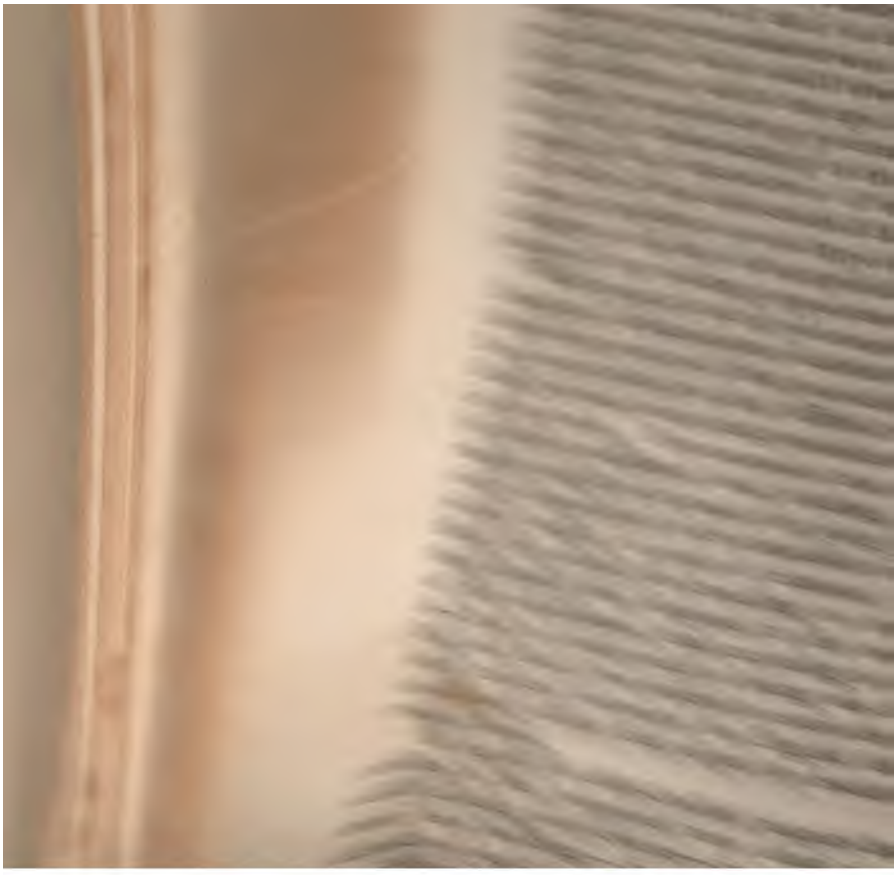
'In gradually withdrawing, even from suspected impostors, out-door relief (offering them as a test the workhouse instead), individual cases of real as well as of apparent hardship must occur; but deeply as such cases ought to be lamented by us, yet, on the other hand, it should always be kept in mind, that the greatest degree of misery which in its very worst form can exist under the new Poor-Law Amendment Act, amounts after all to food, raiment, bedding, fuel, and shelter; and the man can have seen but little of this world—he must be sadly ignorant of the state of its immense population—he can himself have suffered very little from adversity, if he presume to declare that such relief is absolute misery. But whatever may be its character, I beg leave, in concluding, most particularly to impress upon you, that as this relief (bad as it may be called) is given as charity, and is by no means inflicted as a punishment, all benevolent people, who really wish to raise the situation of the lower classes, have now only to bestow their charity on the independent labourer, and by doing so they will instantly enable the Central Board to better, exactly in the same proportion, the situation of the pauper; for the Central Board will always be happy to raise the condition of the pauper as high as it can be raised without disorganizing society. The independent labourer is entitled, in common justice, to rank above, and not below, the man who is dependent on his parish for support: every reasonable being must admit that the *hanger-on ought not to be raised higher than him on whom he hangs.*'

On concluding this address, the Assistant Commissioner explained to his audience that, as the whole country was now under

ers of people saw that their object was evidently to temper tice with mercy, however they might have reviled the law, they t it impossible to withhold respect from those who had mildly ministered it;—that if men for pleasure could walk, in order to to fairs, five miles, (which was about the greatest distance any uper in any of the new proposed unions could live from its ntre)—that if they thought it no hardship to go the same dis- nce to their market-towns—that if they cheerfully went a still eater distance to ask for relief at the magisterial bench—there as neither hardship nor injustice in requiring them to proceed a milar distance to a union workhouse, to be there clothed and upported by the sweat of other men's brows;—that if their diet hen they got there was what in this country alone would be ermed *low*, yet, after all, would they be fed there better than the Russian peasant, the Prussian peasant, the French peasant,—than almost every independent labourer in Europe;—In fine, that to feed its paupers *better* than the independent labourer of Europe was what no country in the world could afford;—that our having weakly attempted to do so, without at the same time increasing the fare and condition of our honest labourers, had brought us to a condition in which the farmer was now scarcely able to cultivate his land—and that, if we should continue to pride ourselves on such a sin, we should soon as a nation be deservedly humbled to the dust.

With respect to the houses of the proposed union, the Commissioner suggested, that for the interest of the lowest orders, it would be highly advantageous that classification to a certain extent should be effected. He detailed to the parish officers the various scenes he had witnessed, and the melancholy results of depravity which a promiscuous intercourse was even still creating. He appealed to them as fathers, whether they did not think that it was their duty at least to shield the rising generation from the vices and errors of the present day—whether it was not benevolent and not cruel, that the children of those who were unable to support their offspring should receive education as well as food; and that, if improvident paupers called upon an enlightened country to support their progeny, it should be permitted for the public good to insist on mingling moral instruction with the sustenance which, in the name of charity, they received—whether, in fact, it was more cruel for a pauper's child to be sent to school than for the children of our most wealthy classes?

As to the provision for the aged, the Commissioner submitted to the opinion of the meetings, that, instead of being thrown among children and young men and women, their comforts would be materially increased by their being kept together. He asked whether



most especially, that in East Kent such an objection
t be urged against the Poor-Law Amendment Act, inas-
in the old unions many of the parishes were nine and
iles from the union workhouse; and at the old Coxheath
aupers had been and still were sent by parishes to poor-
which were situated twenty miles distant!

e addresses were generally followed by very long and
discussions.

e was one great practical question, however, which at all
etings was invariably addressed to the commissioner, namely,
the new proposed system offer us any means of employing
mense number of labourers, who with every desire to seek
yment are now totally out of work? for that is our sole
—and to this all-important question, which appeared upper-
in every one's mind, the commissioner replied, that he
ived the Poor-Law Amendment Act did not pretend to find
men employment—that the new law was a system against a
n—that it was the old system, and not the new one, that had
ed more labourers than work—that any man of common
might twenty years ago have prophecied that such would be
sult—and that it required no gift of prophecy to foretell, that
old system were to continue, the most dreadful of all revo-
is would very shortly ensue—namely, that the upper classes
l lose all they possessed, while the lower classes would
nothing but depravity and demoralization—that if *intimida-*
ad not arrived it was at least clearly in view—and that the
t the lower orders succeeded in establishing *that*, property,
stitutions of all sorts would be at an end—that to arrest this
n was the avowed and determined object of the Poor-Law
dment Act—that if a vessel were sinking, it would be a false
ent to use against the carpenter, who was ordered to stop
ak, to say, that he should not do so unless he could tell what
o be done with the water which was already in the hold; for
in the execution of his duty, it mattered to him not one straw
er there was five feet of water aboard or ten. What would
e carpenter's reply, but 'Pump it out, or drink it, if you
e; *my duty is to stop the leak!*' It would be for the legis-
by other Acts to provide for the alleviation of the evil to
these inquiries so naturally referred: Emigration to the
ies might and should be encouraged—the Allotment System
t and should be encouraged; but that even the Poor-Law
dment Act, though it could not undertake directly to meet
vil, would, if it had fair play given to it, so operate as in-
ly to diminish the evil to an enormous extent. He appealed
parish-officers whether it was not undeniable that every farm
in

icts in England which were eagerly requesting to be reformed. y had therefore now to determine whether he should remain in Kent, with every desire to forward its interests, or at once eed elsewhere.

he Assistant-Commissioner then produced and read to the tings the following paper:—

A. B., Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner, being desirous to obtain sentiments of the Magistrates and Parochial Officers of the —— ision of the County of Kent, on the important subject of a Union, Unions of Parishes, requests the sense of this meeting on the fol- ing proposition:—

'It is Proposed, That the Division of ———, in the County of ent, should (subject to the approbation of the Poor-Law Commis- oners for England and Wales) consent to resolve itself into Unions Parishes, for the purpose of establishing within each of the said nions classified and well-regulated workhouses, in which the paupers especially those that are able-bodied) may be set to work.

(Signed) A.B.'

On the sense of the meetings being taken on the above propo- ition, the following was the result:—

Meetings.	Number of Parishes.	Population.	Number of Magistrates, Parish Officers, &c. present.	For the Proposition.	Against it.
Upper Division of the Lath of Scray.....	50	35,540	197	194	3
Archbishop's Palace, Canterbury.....	25	5,074	42	42	0
Wingham Division of St. Augustine Lath.....	56	26,661	196	195	1
Ashford Division..	42	22,669	171	170	1
Elham Division...	26	14,899	104	104	0
	199	104,843	710	705	5

In the history of the Poor-Law Amendment Act, it is with pleasure we record, that every magistrate who was present at these meetings (as well as every clergyman not a magistrate) not only refrained from opposing the proposition, but gave to the Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner the most generous support.* 'Clearly seeing,' he says, 'that I was both incompetent and unqualified for the arduous duty I had to perform, in every instance they generously crowded around me, encouraged me by their speeches, maintained me by their influence, and nothing can be more true than that without their assistance I could not have succeeded in

* The Chairmen of the several meetings, namely Lord Harris, Rev. C. Hallett, T. P. Plumtree, Esq., M. P., E. Knight, Esq., W. Deedes, Esq., and the Earl Amherst, most particularly supported him by their speeches and arguments.

any

commendation of the Poor-Law Board—it was divided into n Unions, most of which comprehend, within a circle of about iles diameter, a population of nearly ten thousand.

though a general fear to undertake the novel duty naturally s, several most respectable guardians for these Unions have dy been appointed, and the Assistant Commissioner is now nding on each to lend his humble assistance in their first s, which must unavoidably be attended with considerable diffies. That many little embarrassments will at first occur—that e most competent to discharge the duties of guardians will irst hang back—that some incompetent to the duty will be pointed—that prejudice and ignorance—that the narrow-minded that men of sickly judgment—that false philanthropists—in ort, that all descriptions of '*Second chance men*' will do their most to impede the progress of the Poor-Law Amendment Act —there can be no doubt whatever: but as our readers probably, ke ourselves, are sleepy, and for the moment dead tired of the ubject, we will only beg them to call to mind the practical result f the Ashford select vestry; and with that in view, we conclude y observing, that if a dozen or two sensible guardians of a compact union, supported by the strong powers of a Central Board, hall prove incapable to govern their own affairs, it is perfectly evident that no human power can assist them.

With respect to the Poor-Law Commissioners for England and Wales, we know little of them, but what little we do know we will state. Out of about two thousand applications which they have received for the situation of Assistant Commissioner they have selected twelve individuals, to at least ten of whom they were previously total strangers. Their urbanity has already gained for them the zealous co-operation of their servants, and since their own appointment they have unremittingly devoted themselves to the laborious duties of their office.

The creation of a Central Board for the administration of the Poor-Law was strongly and repeatedly urged in this Journal long before the new Act had been framed, or, we believe, thought of—we are of opinion now, as we were then, that such a Board, if judiciously constituted, must *eventually* act on the best possible information—that this information must become better than any opinion of any individual, of any parish, or of any district—and that it is particularly for the interest of the poor that a corps of assistant commissioners should henceforward be circulating among them, ready to listen to their complaints, and eager to remedy their grievances.

ART.

[illegible] *Aristocracy of England* [illegible] Hooper. [illegible]

[illegible] *Thoughts* [illegible] Jenkins. London: [illegible]

[illegible]

moulding of our aristocratic institutions in Church and State. This sideration points out the expediency of attending a little in detail the aristocratic principle (and practice also) among us. The mont is favourable ; and we must not lose sight of justice and of modetion merely because our triumph approaches.

'The nobility of England, though it forms the basis and the bulk, rms not the whole of our aristocratic body. To all practical purses we must include under that name all their immediate conexions, and even all who live in the same circles have the same bjects, and from time to time attain the same privileges. The law f the constitution is, that only a peer's eldest son succeeds to his ather's honours, and therefore we constantly hear it said that all the est of the family belong to the body of the people. Nothing can e more true as regards legal rights—nothing more false as regards olitical and social bias. It is certain that the eldest son alone is leemed by our institutions to be born a lawgiver, a senator, and a judge ; that he alone, be he ever so ignorant, stupid, and vicious, is allowed to decide upon the great questions of policy and of jurisprudence, and to sit in appeal upon the decisions of all the legal tribunals of the country, and to judge without review all his fellow-citizens for property, liberty, limb, and life. These high functions are so essentially inherent in him, that no bankruptcy, no idiotcy (short of being found lunatic by commission), no criminality, can deprive him of his judicial and legislative attributes. He may have committed felony, and been transported—or perjury, and been pilloried—or fraud, and been upon the tread-mill ;yet, the day after his sentence expires, he may take his seat next *the Lord Chancellor* or the Archbishop of Canterbury, and turn by his vote the fate of a great measure for diffusing universally the justice which he has contemned and outraged ; as indeed one voice threw out *the Local Courts' Bill.* [*Eheu !*]

'That all these high, precious, grievous, absurd, and revolting privileges are confined to the eldest sons of peers is certain ; it is equally certain that a more gross mistake never was committed than theirs who for this reason affect to consider all the younger branches of noble families as equal with the rest of the people. Equal they are in law : they can only sue and be sued like their neighbours ; they pay taxes like them ; they cannot ride down the peasants or the shopkeepers with impunity ; but so neither can the peers themselves. And yet who shall say that, except privilege of arrest from debt, and the power of sitting in parliament and as judges, there is any real difference existing by law between the eldest son and his brothers, further than there is between a rich man and a poor ? All belong to the same caste ; all are alike a favoured race in the government and in society ; all have advantages unknown to us of the common people ; and therefore all constitute the body of the aristocracy in fact, be the law ever so plain in the eldest son's favour.

'The same remark applies to all persons who, from their fortune and

The respectable journals are no favourite reading of theirs. The vspaper that fearlessly defends the right; that refuses to pander the headlong passions of the multitude, or cater for the vicious ap-ites of the selecter circles; that does its duty alike regardless of e hustings and the *boudoir;* has little chance of lying on the satin-ood table, of being blotted with ungrammatical ill-spelt notes, half bad nglish half worse French, or of being fondled by fingers that have just oken a gold-wax seal on a grass-green paper. But more especially ill it be excluded, possibly extruded, from those sacred haunts of the orinthian order, if it convey any solid instruction upon a useful or nportant subject, interesting to the species which the writers adorn, nd the patricians do their best to degrade. Even wit the most re-ined finds no echo in such minds; and if it be used in illustrating an rgument or in pressing home the demonstration (which it often may e), the author is charged with treating a serious subject lightly, and of jesting where he should reason. Broad humour, descending to arce, is the utmost reach of their capacity; and that is of no value in their eyes unless it raises a laugh at a friend's expense. *Some who have lived at court, and are capable of better things, say they carefully eschew all jests; for princes take such things as a personal affront*—as raising the joker to their own level, by calling on them to laugh with him. One kind of jest, indeed, never fails to find favour in those high latitudes—where the author [*qu.* Mr. Tomkins?] is himself the subject of the merriment.

'From a contemplation of the aristocracy, the result of sorrowful observation, *not of irritable displeasure* [!!!], we naturally turn to its lamentable but inevitable consequence. Can society long remain in this most unnatural state? Can the whole faculties and accomplishments of a great people be severed with impunity from *the wealth, the rank, the privileges,* and the personal and individual interests that exist in the state? The middle, not the upper class, are the part of the nation which is entitled to command respect, and enabled to win esteem, or challenge admiration. They read, they reflect, they reason, they think for themselves; they will neither let a pope, nor a prince, nor a minister, nor a newspaper, form their opinions for them; and they will neither from views of interest nor motives of fear be made the dupe or tool of others. They are the nation—the people—in every rational or correct sense of the word. By them, through them, for them, the fabric of the government is reared, continued, designed. *How long are they likely to suffer a few persons of overgrown wealth, laughable folly, and considerable profligacy, to usurp, and exclusively to hold, all consideration, all individual importance?* Can the scales of society be kept steadily adjusted when the unnatural force, violently exerted in favour of the feather, makes the unaided gold kick the beam?'—pp. 16-18.

'Only see how the aristocracy and the Upper House of Parliament oppress the country and cause the mismanagement of its concerns! First,

›ming to an open collision with the other House of Parlia- *Until either their privileges are restricted, or their consti- is changed, the country has little chance of good government, ntinued sound legislation.* No man who understands our con- on—no man who has observed the necessity that exists in it of nd chamber of Parliament to revise the acts of the first, can de- › see the House of Lords abolished. That much is required to ne before *its prolonged existence can be considered either bene- or safe to the community*, no one who regards its composition ooks back to its history can doubt.'—pp. 20-22.

hile we were hesitating as to the propriety of making some ıer extracts from Mr. Isaac Tomkins, there reached us a *er* addressed to that 'gentleman' by Mr. Peter Jenkins—an ctionate kinsman of his, who not only patronizes the same ıter and publisher, but pursues exactly the same argument, , we must say, deals with it in exactly the same style. Jenkins, short, is obviously the same enlightened patriot with Tomkins; t he appears under *somewhat* different circumstances, and there- e takes rather a wider scope. Tomkins feared that the King d the House of Lords might, after all that had been said and ne, be able to prop up the Peel government against the majo- ies of the Commons: the sagacious Jenkins begins, a fortnight ter, to be apprehensive that the *aristocratic* element in the *re- rmed* House of Commons itself may still be sufficient to exclude the real friends of the people'—the 'diffusers of useful know- edge'—from the sixth cabinet of the reform era. Hear the 'voice rom Berkeley Square,' of April the 10th, 1835!—

'Dear Sir,—I have had the great satisfaction of reading your able and just remarks upon that Aristocracy, which form the chief bane of all policy, as well as all society, in this country, and which tends not much more to destroy good government over us than to sap good morals amongst us. You deserve all our thanks for the striking exposition you have made of this prevailing evil. But why do you stop short? Why do you dwell so much on the slighter parts of the subject? What can be more insignificant to the nation at large, than the way in which lords and ladies spend their time at their grandee palaces? Let their society be ever so refined, or ever so gross—let their talk be as solid as that of rational creatures, or as silly and unsubstantial as you describe it, I care not—we and our fellow-citizens of the middle classes value not a rush the admission to that intercourse, and could well bear our perpetual exclusion from it, if that were all we had to suffer from the present aristocratical government of the country. I want you, therefore, to consider and to discourse upon our *real grievances*—those *burthens* by which the aristocracy *grind* the *faces*—[not the backs!]—of their inferiors.

'Look only at *the House of Commons*—to take an example from what indeed lies at the root of the evil tree, whose bitter fruits we

 are

the sake of the House of Lords, whom they really love, and most of them hope to sit. But they fear us as well as detest d they must vote whether they will or no on many questions. see the effects of this. It is like the argument of *measures not* Those members only give us just as much support and pro- n as they cannot possibly withhold; and in all other cases they e to stir for us. Hence, neither Lord John Russell could frame nendment worth a straw, excepting for merely party purposes, ould Mr. Hume support the people's most important right, to stop lies till grievances were redressed. Hence all motions of any e are put off, because there is a struggle to turn out *one set of ocrats*, and put another in their place. Hence, if the hearts of a large majority of the House, and even a considerable number of opposition, were opened, and we could endure so hideous a sight, should find not one trace of the country's good—not one vestige the people's welfare—not the faintest impression of the public ion; but all would be heats, hatreds, furies, fears, (not a re- ion of the public wishes,) about selfish objects, never rising nearer he tone and temper of patriotism than so far as party feeling now then borrows its hues for an ornament, and wears its garb for a uise. Those men who I know are the majority of the House— I am almost certain are some of the opposition—vote, from a fifth fourth, because they dread the loss of their seats—some because re are places which they possess or expect. They will try to patch an expiring and impossible ministry, or to hatch a middle scheme ratify jobbers, and frustrate all the hopes of the country, or make ew cabinet altogether; in which it is a hundred to one that we, people, shall hardly find any men who are thoroughly disposed to s justice, and whose heart is in the work of helping the people. not blame those men—the chiefs of the liberal and popular por- of the Whig party; on the contrary, I feel the debt of gratitude owe them. But what can they do with such a *system?* They e not break with the aristocracy, to which almost all of them— e than nine in every ten—actually belong; they dare not fly in face of the court, which, as things are now arranged, may turn a ministry without notice, and without the least reason assigned; , after plunging the country in confusion, retreat, and suffer no d of penalty or even inconvenience from its intrigue. They cannot k miracles in such a House of Commons, or make bricks without w. They could not act for our true interests even if they really as they ought, and actually wished what we desire, because they only supported by a mixed body in the House of Commons, and osed by a very determined and interested mass of steady, unflinch- , unscrupulous enemies to all reform. *Our* friends are the mino- ; and the rest of the opposition, who, *in case of a change, will be ministerial body, is composed of men in whom the country never can n place any trust.*

It is easy to declaim against such men as your Greisleys and Hall

 Dares—

try, has prevented us from doing them full justice. English
rs could hardly be expected to feel, or the English public to
partaken in, much interest as to the characters of their vic-
us antagonists. The French care only about themselves, and
est of the Western continent had too little personal or political
ve to pay much attention to these Transatlantic worthies; and
think we may venture to say, that Washington and Franklin
alone in possession of that European reputation which many
rs—though not, we admit, in so high a degree—appear to us
deserve. The lives that have been published in America are too
uminous for general use. We can neither afford money nor
me for the cumbrous biographies of such distant acquaintance.
ne or two octavo volumes, comprising Washingon, Montgomery,
ee, Armstrong, Franklin, Hancock, Jay, Hamilton, Robert and
Gouverneur* Morris, Samuel and John Adams, Jefferson, and
Madison, containing an accurate statement of the events of their
ves, and an impartial summary of their principles and opinions,
would be not merely popular amongst us, but permanently useful
and instructive. The grave has now closed over all the men who
have any pretensions to enter into such a work; and the passions,
partialities, and prejudices which their living conduct had ex-
cited, are now pretty well extinguished,—nearly as much so as
they are likely to be for two or three generations to come,—while
there is still alive enough of personal interest and of traditionary
anecdote to enable an author to give to his historical pictures the
additional charm of individual portraits. This suggestion is made
in the most friendly feeling towards our Transatlantic brethren—
dead and living—in whose honour and fame we take, as is natural
and just, a strong *family* interest; and most happy should we be
to have contributed, even in so humble a degree as by the ex-
pression of a wish, to a work which, if adequately executed, must
tend to advance the combined fame, and to reconcile the partial
differences, of that great class of mankind whom we may designate
by the *common* name of the *British race.*

Whether the life of Fisher Ames, the ingenious and amiable person whose works have led us to these observations, was of sufficient public importance to procure him a place in such a select biography, we cannot venture to determine. Of that an American only can safely judge; but the slight biographical sketch prefixed to the volume now under our consideration, and still more the patriotism, benevolence, and sagacity, exhibited in the work itself,

* We wish that Mr. Sparks, who has published *extracts* from Gouverneur Morris's diary during his residence in Paris in the early part of the French Revolution, would publish it *in extenso*—it is serious and important.

convince

n to doubt of the ultimate success of the experiment; and, e read of some of the Gothic tribes, sang over the new-born e, not songs of hope and promise, but dirges of sorrow, at all misery it was destined to suffer and to cause.

But if the extension of the democratic system in America and is an object of so much anxiety to so many of *her* tesmen, with what terror should it not strike US, upon whom it mes,—not only with its natural and intrinsic evils, but—with e additional and incalculable danger of being a sudden irruption, volcanic revolution, for which we are not merely unprepared, t unfitted by our manners, our feelings, our principles, and en our prejudices,—by, in short, all the inveterate habits of a ng-established and complicated system of social and political life. We say '*sudden*' and '*unprepared*,' because, although our constitution gradually evolved a strong *popular* principle, it had originally no *democratic* element whatsoever; and although the popular principle had been (as is its nature) gaining upon the antagonist powers, yet it was not till the *Reform Bill* that anything like *democracy* could be said to have a share in the government of England. We are not ignorant that the theoretical writers were used to combine the English constitution of three elements,—monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy,—'a kind of democracy,' says Blackstone,—a *kind of democracy*, we add, which had nothing of the essence of what now-a-days is called democracy; for it was admitted alike by the advocates and opponents of the Reform Bill that the House of Commons had never been, in form or in fact, a *democratic* body; and all the objections of the Conservatives to that measure might be summed up in one word,—that it was *democratical*, or which, perhaps, expressed the idea still more correctly, *autocratical*;—that the House of Commons must inevitably become under it, not *one* of a *triad* of powers—not *tertius*, nor even *primus inter pares*—but the *sole* essential authority; and that the prerogatives of the other two estates must dwindle at first to a mere nominal existence, and eventually, cease to exist at all.

Who denies that much of the prophecy has been already accomplished?—Would that we could doubt that the rest is in rapid progress!

To exhibit, *first*, the greedy and engrossing nature of democracy, which

> 'Like Aaron's rod must swallow all the rest;'

and, *secondly*, the despotic tyranny which a victorious democracy must exercise; and, *thirdly*, to show that such a despotic democracy must end in a single military despot,—are the objects of Mr. Ames; and it is a strong proof of his natural sagacity, as well as of the truth of his reasons, that he published some of the works which

, even as to the prospects of a few weeks, that now exists face of the earth,—France is at this moment *terra firma*, reece and Belgium have a *pied à terre*, when compared to d.

Ames explains, with good sense, the dangers to which a ar government is exposed,—dangers against which he be- that the modified constitution of England had sufficiently ed, but which must beset any form more unlimitedly popular:

a species of government in which the people choose all the , and then, by themselves, or ambitious demagogues pretending the people, claim and exercise an effective control over what is d the government, would be found on trial no better than a tur- t and licentious democracy. The danger is, that their best ests would be neglected, their dearest rights violated, their sober on silenced, and the worst passions of the worst men not only d from legal restraint, but invested with public power.'—pp. 45, 46.

Against the progress and triumph of such principles, what is obstacle or what the defence? Mr. Ames received in his day same answer that we have lately heard:—

hat in the most desperate extremity of faction or usurpation, we ve an unfailing resource in the *good sense* of the nation.'—p. 49.

The good sense of the nation! as if the *good sense* of a nation ould be of any real and effective avail, where the power of the tate is lodged in democratic constituencies, is exercised under the xcitements of popular elections, and, not intrusted, but *lent on pledges*, to men whose sense and talents, if they have any, or, in defect of sense and talents, whose vanity, ambition, and turbulence must endeavour to secure their vicarious existence by pandering to, nay, by stimulating the vicious appetites of the mob. For

'It never has happened in the world, and it never will, that a democracy has been kept out of the control of the fiercest and most turbulent spirits in the society; they will breathe into it all their own fury, and make it subservient to the worst designs of the worst men; and the more free the citizens, the bolder and more profligate will be their demagogues, the more numerous and eccentric the popular errors, and the more vehement and pertinacious the passions that defend them.'—p. 51.

In pursuing this view of the subject, Mr. Ames rebukes the apathy and false confidence with which what are called moderate men are disposed to look on such proceedings, in a passage which, as his editor remarks, is, even in its smallest circumstances and allusions, wonderfully appropriate to our recent condition:—

'We enjoy, or rather, till very lately, we did enjoy liberty, to as great

ionest greediness of *wealth*—of a dishonourable desire of —and, generally, of that reckless passion for *change*—which times the symptom of a morbid understanding, and more tly the last stake of desperate fortunes. These are the s which rise in revolutions, and obtain preponderance in racies. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not mean that tions are ever *made* by men of this class; on the contrary, ite agree in the maxim that they are *never made from below.* good sense of a nation would be always strong enough to *in limine,* any attempt that openly bore such a wild and des- e aspect. They are always *set agoing* by men of rank, cha- r, and property, for private personal motives, but with some sible public pretence, in which—for the sake of conciliation, in the hope of *stopping there*—the *good sense of the nation* is tantly induced to acquiesce; but the good sense of the nation seldom be available afterwards—the velocity of the movement elerates—κυλινδετο ΛΑΟΣ ἄναιδής—the headlong mass rolls on n the whirl all senses are confounded. The original authors of revolution are overtaken, overthrown, trampled to death by their lowers, as *these* are, in turn, by another and more furious rout: n, when the crowd becomes weak and weary with exhaustion d suffering, comes one strong man who restores order by despotic wer, under which the nation reposes till it has gathered sufficient nse and strength to return to something like the ancient system om which it had originally departed. This is the summary of l the revolutions the world has yet suffered; and *this*—if the *ood sense* of the nation continues to be rendered powerless by he insanity of *party*—*this* will, undoubtedly, be the course and he result of that in which the British empire is now involved.

It may be said that America herself is an exception to this general rule; but it is not so. America achieved her independence, it is true, by repudiating a distant metropolis, an unknown aristocracy, and an unseen sovereign—but she underwent no revolution—the stations of men, the rights of property, the territorial divisions, the force and form of the law suffered little change. The *name* of the sovereign power was altered, but *authority* was never for a moment suspended; the United States passed from a monarchy, which, from its colonial circumstances, had been a monarchy only in name, to a republic which continued to be administered by the same laws and customs, and, in a great proportion, by the same men as under the former system.

Two other important circumstances have contributed to preserve America from the excesses of democracy. The first is the vast extent of her territory, which operates in two or three ways—it affords room for the emigration and self-removal of the discontented and turbulent

e, a mere illusion, under which the House of Commons may ise, *with less odium*, the real government, and which must sh—with or without an explosion—on the very first conflict in ch the two houses shall be really in earnest.

'owards the close of the second year of the *Reform Era*, the istry which had conferred that great, popular, and salutary n on a grateful and satisfied empire, found itself—without any inution of the royal favour—without any shocks from parliantary opposition—without any embarrassment from foreign itics—without any one external cause of any kind—that mitry, we say, was already, within two years, scattered to the winds. rd Durham and Sir James Graham—the two most efficient memrs (as we are told) of the sub-committee of the cabinet which med the Bill—had gone off on *opposite tacks*:—Lord Stanley, its ost able defender (though, we believe, he had no great share, and erhaps no share at all in its actual composition) was gone:—Lord ipon and the Duke of Richmond were gone. And *he himself*—ord Grey—the patriarch of reform, was also extruded from his wn cabinet—not like the patriarch Simeon with a grateful *nunc imittis*, but (as the world thought) insulted, cheated, and betrayed! But this was not the real cause of his fall—the truth is now, at ast, avowed—he was expelled, not by the spontaneous treachery of his colleagues, but by the influence of the democracy. Hear what the organ of the Roman Catholic and Democratical party in Ireland now avows about Lord Grey:—

'Let the truth be spoken out at once—Lord Grey is hated in Ireland. His very name is abhorred by the coerced people of this country, whom he ruled with a rod of iron—and in forging new chains for whom he broke up his cabinet. No, no; we have had enough of the tyrant in friend's garb; and if oppression is still to be our lot, let us, in resistance—for, in that case, resist we will—have at least an open foe to encounter. What! submit again to *Draco's* rule?—[poor *Lord Grey, Draco?*]—never! Rather let every man, woman, and child in Ireland perish! Why did Lord Grey resign? Was it not because he found that some of his colleagues, and the majority of the House of Commons, were determined to clip the iron fangs of his tiger proposition? Did he not fling up office because he could not obtain the consent of the representatives of the people to the hell-born clauses of his atrocious Coercion Act? Let Lord Grey come into office once more, and the union which now exists between the several sections of the liberal party will be dissolved, and to harmony will instantly succeed discord dire. If we could tender a word of friendly advice to Lord Grey's advocates and admirers, either here or in England, we would tell them to leave the Noble Earl in his old age to the peace of domestic retirement, and not to force upon the public the consideration of his ministerial conduct, under circumstances that do not bear a strict

ıltory cruelty of that mode of execution, in the gradual mu- of the victim. In one letter a leg was broken—in the next —in a third the left arm, and in the fourth his right—but tely, or unfortunately for the sufferer, 'the *coup de grace*' was ded by the dissolution of the Melbourne government—and happy patient has so far recovered as to have been lately *aning* on the quondam executioner, and by the kind assistance t *friendly arm*, tottering down to reassume his *uneasy* chair itehall.

most anxiously solicit the memory of our readers to recall reserve the circumstances of this extraordinary transaction— *ublic* quarrel and *sub silentio* reconciliation of the Melbourne ıet and Mr. O'Connell, is a most portentous example of the of the Whig and Radical parties. Hear Mr. O'Connell's ion, six months since, of these statesmen, with whom he has coalesced.

)f Lord Melbourne Mr. O'Connell thus speaks in one of his rous, and, for his object, just and well-reasoned letters to Lord ıcannon—

In plain truth, my Lord, it is quite manifest that Lord Melbourne *tterly incompetent* for the high office he holds. It is lamentable think that the destinies of Ireland should depend in any degree on *such a person.*'

Of Lord Grey and Lord John Russell he says—

'Of what value is it to Ireland, that Lord Grey should have retired, he has left to his successors the same proud and *malignant hatred* appeared to entertain towards the Irish nation? Are the repre- ntatives of that sentiment predominant in the Cabinet? *I know hat Lord John Russell cherishes feelings of a different description.*'

Of Lord Lansdowne—

'Lord Lansdowne, too, is *hostile* to Ireland, with a *hatred* the more active and persevering, because he is bound by every obligation to entertain diametrically opposite sentiments.'

Again—

'The *dotage* of Wellesley is allowed to doze in Vice-regal dignity— and to *him*, forsooth, is intrusted the chief government of such a country as Ireland—the *drivelling* of Littleton, a man of *too much cunning to possess intellect*, and too varying to possess political principle.'

Of Lord Brougham (then on his northern progress) Mr. O'Connell says—

'If we look to England, we see the Chancellor *twaddling* in the most childish Toryism, courting with a *discreditable* servility the defeated remnants of that faction, and pledging *his* Ministry to do nothing in the ensuing season.'

And,

drivelling, twaddling, discreditable, false, and
O'Connell has coalesced; and by that coaliti
hood, before these pages are published, the c
been dictated to the Sovereign.

The facts are before every man's eyes, a
consequences are within reach of every man's
the whirl and din of the battle such incidents
ciently observed—but when the history of these
matter of consideration and reflection, the a
amity, and amity and strife, and the final
Melbournes and the O'Connells, will be an
exemplification of the views and principles of t
and the English whigs.

We hope that in applying the term *democra*
we regret to say, powerful party, both in th
country, we do not use a phrase which they c
sulting or injurious. Mr. Ames's opponents g
and we believe that *our* reformers do not rep
contrary, are forward to profess that their pri
cratic—we are sure that their tendency is so—
we mean succinctly to express by the use of th
and *democracy*, but without intending anythin
reflection on gentlemen who, like any other cl
have a perfect right to pursue the course wh
most consistent with the principles and interests
or, as they no doubt consider it—their country
whom no suspicion of any personal bias can
and are favourable to a democratic form of
there are a great many more in whom that opi

has ever been, and, as we think, *must* ever be constituted
, justice, vested rights, prescription, the experience and
of ages—fortified by the miserable and disastrous failures
have attended all democratic innovation: in short, we wish
p our own station and property—the fruits of the industry,
sdom, and the talents of our ancestors and ourselves, and to
it them, as we have enjoyed them, to those who are, by the
contract under which they were born, entitled to inherit them.
pponents, on the contrary, assert that a more democratic go-
ent might produce more wholesome laws—a juster distribution
perty—a general increase of the happiness of mankind—and
lege that the failure of all attempts hitherto made at attaining
bjects by a democracy has arisen from the error of the work-
and not from the defective principle of the machine. They,
rt, would take a short cut to rank, wealth, and power, at the
se of present possessors—forgetting, however, that their suc-
ould establish a precedent, by which they, after a very short
l, would find themselves in turn the plunder and the prey
v adventurers. However this may be, we hope we have
ently excused ourselves for using the term *democrat*—in no
ally offensive sense, but according to the genuine meaning
all Europe and America assign to the word.

return to Lord Melbourne's ministry: which—although
in the Public Opinion of England and the Protestant
n of Ireland by the opposition of Mr. O'Connell—yet had
itself the seeds of early dissolution. The King, finding
is ministry had not one cordial friend in the whole empire
the cabinet-room, and that even in the cabinet-room there
ither unanimity nor ability, dismissed them—and called to
uncils the ablest—by unanimous consent the far ablest of
sembly in which the chief business of the country must be
-a man recommended to the King—by his Majesty's own
edge of his character—by the advice of the most illustrious
e most generous of the servants of the public—and by
nhesitating and universal approbation of the People, that
tural excitement of a great public crisis and the national
ence of the English character were, for once, satisfied to
through an unprecedented period of suspense—for the
esolve of the absent statesman. Sir Robert Peel came
and, even if he thought, as we certainly did, that the
ad been too early made upon him—the favour of his sove-
and the relying confidence of the nation, *obliged* him
e the government. He had with him the King and the
e—but as we have—from the first disastrous dawn of the
m Bill—invariably foretold—the voice of the King and the

 People

shadow of objection—a report which, in its principles, and satisfactory, and in practice would (with some trifling ons) be found, we are convinced, to give security to the al interests and a wider efficiency to the spiritual duties of urch—a report on a most entangled and difficult subject, we will assert, at once silenced cavils, confounded misrepre- ons, appeased scruples, and opened views of rational, effec- d conciliatory improvements, far beyond any ecclesiastical sition of modern times.

next produced a Dissenters' Marriage Bill; and in that dif- matter—and how difficult we thought and still think it, our rs may recollect, or will see if they will turn to our opinion e failure of Lord John Russell's attempt to legislate on that ect (*Quarterly Review*, vol. LI., p. 511.)—in that difficult er Sir Robert Peel's proposition was received with the unani- s approbation of the organs of the Dissenters in the House Commons, and without any objection, that we have heard, on part of the church or churchmen.* Believing, as we before ed, that the grievance alleged by the Dissenters was in truth y little felt, and convinced as we are that the most active of ir leaders *prefer* the grievance to any remedy, we shall not be prised to find that future objections may be raised; but it is ough for our present purpose that the measure was at first re- ived by the Dissenting body as a boon and a remedy, and ac- iesced in by the Church as involving no sacrifice of her rights principles, and that there was every appearance of a happy d conciliatory adjustment of this vexatious question.

On the infinitely more difficult and more important subject of rish tithes, a measure was also introduced—so satisfactory on the vhole (considering that there was but a choice of difficulties) that o substantial objection was or could be made to the proposition. But then came the tug of war. If this bill were permitted to pass, Ireland would have been pacified—the master grievance would have been removed, and the Protestant Church would have been rescued from instant penury and approaching annihilation. That would never do! Yet how was it to be defeated?—the bill was unexceptionable—its principle had been taken in the Whig proposition of the former year, and its details had been so judi- ciously managed as to remove all the objections which had impeded the former measure. A device was adopted of no great ingenuity; nay, we will say, so weak and so irrational, that it would never have been adopted by any men however foolish or however

* Some legal positions in Sir Robert Peel's introductory speech, particularly as to the state of the law of marriage prior to Lord Hardwick's act, appear to have been questioned by Dr. Lushington; but these *obiter dicta* had no bearing on the practical proposition, which, we repeat, was unanimously approved.

 factious,

embers, for Sir Robert Peel 247, for the Opposition
l again, on the Irish church, or, to speak more correctly,
anch of the Protestant Church of England located in
For Sir Robert Peel's amendment 235, for Lord John
resolution 228. The majority in all these cases was
l of Scotch and Irish members, and in the latter case it is
remarkable that the majority was made by members
the Roman Catholic religion, who, on taking their seats
use, had sworn not to exercise any vote or power that
s gave them to the injury of the Protestant Church. If
were wanting to prove the inefficacy of oaths as a political
in the case of Romanists, it would be this circumstance,
is view we think it worth while to copy this oath.

swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the
t of property within this realm as established by the laws.
hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention
t the present Church Establishment, as settled by law within
. And I do solemnly swear, that I will never exercise any
to which I am, or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken
stant religion, or Protestant Government in this kingdom.
solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and de-
t I do make the declaration and every part thereof, in the
ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any eva-
vocation, or mental reservation whatever.'

ake no other comment upon it.

Brougham, it seems, had never heard the witty allusion to
orial anarchy that followed the great victory of Pulteney
pole; but, with his Lordship's leave, we venture to quote
Sir Charles Hanbury Williams's contemporaneous ode;
ever was so strikingly true as at this moment, that the
power of the country

———' is *like a snake*,
And *the tail* moves the *head*.' *

ve already stated that Sir Robert Peel was justified—we
en say bound—not to abandon his effort for the deliver-
he king and the people from the democratic and Romish
as long as perseverance could afford any hope of a be-
esult, or even of the temporary palliation of delay. He
unprecedented loss of the usual ministerial patronage
oice of a Speaker—he bore the unprecedented affront
verse Address—he bore—and nothing but the jeopardy
igher interests and the peril of still more sacred princi-
ld have justified his having borne—the invasion of the
ost appropriate prerogative in the business of the London

* Williams's Works, vol. i., p. 138.

University;

ean device, the *success* of which in that
defeat—they endeavoured to reduce it
their unconquered and unconquerable
ced to inaction by the complicated em-
e was surrounded. Not even the cer-
, nor even the flush of victory, could
from this tortuous course—even their last
and squinting aspect; they did not ven-
their resolution to the throne—they did not
it in the Irish Tithe Bill—either of which
direct and manly course, and if successful
the same result; but they moved an insu-
no bill which did not include their project
the imaginary surplus should receive the
of Commons! Such tactics may be very
they certainly have, at first sight, the ap-
juggle;—but one thing at least they will
at the opposition feared to meet their adver-
that they doubted whether their own troops
stand in open field against Sir Robert Peel
rength of his own character, the sacred arms

as not merely the dread of their powerful anta-
the Coalition: they were quite as much influ-
ance and differences of their own host. The
se of Commons was not prepared to oust Sir
stry by a direct vote; Lord Howick said, in
dress, that he would not vote for the amend-
the result would remove the ministry. What
meant by his vote we cannot guess; but the
is lordship and many others were, or affected
issolve the government; and to some scruples
aps may attribute much of the tortuous and
e opposition.

r, arrived when what neither personal feeling,
nt, nor mere parliamentary difficulties could
dictated by a sense of public duty. The
Ireland—the countenance given by the late
stance of the payment of tithes had reduced
ry,—and the call for the repayment of the
affording any means for collecting the arrears
g of the Tithe Bill of the most instant and
ut—the House of Commons having resolved
the Bill without the addition of a principle
virtually spoliated the church and violated
the ministry—who, on the one hand, could not
defer

'he domestic policy of the new Government received ıs approbation even from its opponents — its foreign under the guidance of that great man, who possesses, in est degree, the respect of the European world, inspired l confidence. The Cabinet was known to possess the f the House of Lords; and the choice of the Sovereign had ıde still more marked and distinctive by the circumstance was a choice made not only without the knowledge but against the consent of the Prime Minister himself. Here, vas a case—if ever there was—in which the constitutional ative of the Crown might be exercised without any disturb- ce from any constitutional power. The Minister stood on the aneous choice of the King—the support of the House of Lords confidence of the property and intelligence of the country— he acquiescence (we might say, approbation) of the country ge. Did ever a ministry come into power with so little ob- on to the mode of its accession, or with so large a concur- e of constitutional support? What was wanted to confirm its ility?—the DEMOCRACY—that power artfully, fraudulently *ted*—we say created, for it never before had a sensible exist- e among us—by the provisions of the Reform Bill, which has nsferred to *one class* a power that had hitherto been exercised a combination of all ranks and classes—that selected and voured class being one in which, from a variety of causes, ostility to the Monarchical, Ecclesiastical, and Aristocratical ıstitutions of the Empire happens to be concentrated, and there- ore, by the superior activity and organization of the holders of uch opinions, powerful far beyond even their numerical force.

By the majorities of that class in the several electoral districts— majorities amounting perhaps in the whole empire not to 20,000 —the balance of the elections was turned; the choice of the Sovereign, and the support of the House of Lords—the confidence of the property and intelligence of the country—the approbation of the people at large—have been nullified; and a decided *minority* of the real constitutional power of the state have dismissed Sir Robert Peel, and dictated to the King, the Peers, and the Country, the resumption of a ministry which had been lately dismissed with equally just and general contempt.

We have said, 'dictated to the King, the Peers, and *the Country*,' —though for our argument it would have been enough to have said the 'King and the Peers,' and that the third estate had imposed its measures on the other two branches of the constitution; but we do not argue this matter on mere technical grounds, and we reassert that the *country itself*—in the just acceptation of the word, for the vast majority of property, education, and intelligence,— in short, of all the legitimate elements of political power—has been,

ese addresses to Sir Robert Peel, the signatures to which ublished—that from Oxford—deserves particular notice, from its being signed by an unparalleled combination of erty, learning, and every other element of respectability, the following, we had almost said, touching incident. been informed, that the day on which the nobility, nd gentry of that city, university, and neighbourhood ing their address, happened to be market-day—the farm-country people at the market, hearing that something of was going forward, proceeded spontaneously to the place e address lay for signatures, and with the true and ancient English yeomen begged permission to add their humbler, less respectable, names to a list which, illustrious before k and talent, became still more so by the uninvited and cted addition of the plain good sense and good feeling of honest and patriotic men.

h such facts before our eyes, we are far indeed from despairing destinies of our country, even though the helm is to be—not sted, but—abandoned to the indolent inconsistency of Lord ourne, and the flippant mediocrity of Lord John Russell—ted, rather than supported, by the discontented and deluded ences which the Reform Bill has enabled to exert, for the ent, an electoral predominancy.

Ve hope, and indeed we sincerely believe, that neither Lord lbourne nor Lord John Russell—nor their colleagues—nor eed the majority of the present House of Commons—have any ign of pushing the country to democratic extremities. When e gratified with the possession of place and power, we believe t the Whig Lords would gladly stop. We have the evidence their conduct during their former administrations, that, to use hrase of Mr. Wilberforce's, 'they wish no more public calamity disorganization than may just serve to keep them in power;' l we should have felt no satisfaction at their former dismissal, should we now form a single wish against their success and bility, if we could hope that they could execute their own pur-es and remain their own masters, or the servants only of the own—but we fear that they cannot. We, from the first pro-ition of the Reform Bill, foresaw its democratic tendencies; l every act, and every measure of the various Reform Ministries ich we have already had, confirm those opinions. What they re not able to prevent—what they were not able to do—their nges of men—their vacillation about measures—the unnatural ances which they made—the impotence of their resistance—fruitlessness of their concessions—all showed, on the one hand, ir desire to arrest the progress of the principle they had set in motion,

us from the worst natural results of our own miserable
ı. England has indeed 'means of defence' far greater
ıce either had or deserved to have: her Church was
as ours is — her Aristocracy was not such as ours —
ı its own resources or in its more important relations
ther classes of society;—and her Institutions had never
ıur of peril any such rallying point of hope and confidence
eat name around which the Conservative strength of
ı now gathered.

be excused if we conclude by quoting what the late
ing said in this Journal six-and-twenty years ago, at a
hen the prospects of our country were as dark as foreign
ɔuld ever render them :—

case, let us hope! It is not a blind, unreasoning confidence
:ommend; but a reflecting though courageous belief in the
those sentiments, qualities, and exertions by which, in dif-
ı of the world, the career of successful villany has been ar-
the liberties of nations vindicated, preserved, or restored.
ıxious, and apprehensive calculation of chances and proba-
disposition to consider, and a desire to provide against the
ıre not inclined either to blame or dissuade. Such is the
nind with which it befits us to look at events doubtful in
and at the same time so formidable in their consequences.
dissuade, and we should be inclined to blame, that species
at fear in the nature of fascination, which anticipates the
ıe contest, not from a comparison of the two contending
; from the dread of one of them; which, presuming failure,
ıe assistance; which not only cherishes its own terrors, and
ım with a spirit of proselytism, but repels and resents any
dissipate them, and is almost prepared to feel any result
radicts them as a disappointment.'—*Quarterly Review*, No

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M.

Q.

R.

S.